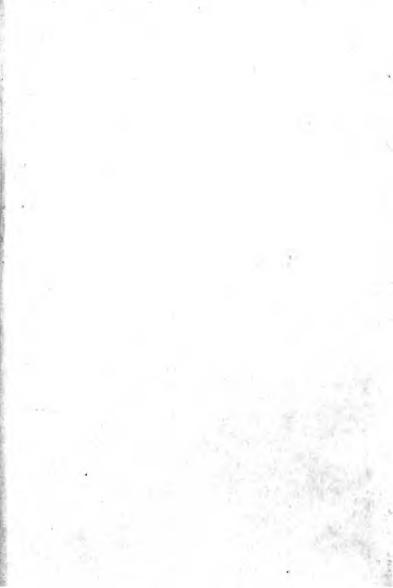
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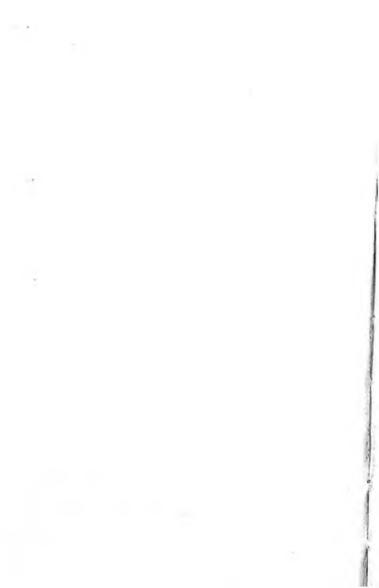
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# DIODORUS OF SICILY



#### WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN TWELVE VOLUMES





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#### MANUSCRIPTS

THE MSS, continue to be those listed in Volume IV, p. 112, as they are designated in the second volume of the edition of Vogel-Fischer, upon which the present text is based. The critical notes make no effort to present the substance of the apparatus criticus of the Vogel-Fischer edition, but are confined to divergences from the Vogel-Fischer text, and to the most important emendations and suggestions by scholars, especially those of Dindorf. The reading which is preceded by a colon is, unless otherwise stated, that of the textus receptus.

# THE LIBRARY OF HISTORY OF DIODORUS OF SICILY BOOK XIV

#### Τάδε ένεστιν έν τῆ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη τῶν Διοδώρου βίβλων

Κατάλησις εν 'Αθήνως της δημοκρατώς καὶ κατάστασις ανδρών τριάκοντα.

Παρανομία των τριάκοντα άνδρων είς τοὺς πολίτας.

'Ως Διονίστιος ὁ τύμωννος ἀκμύπολιν καταικεινώσας διεμέρισε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώρων τοῦς πλήθεσαν.

\*Ως Διουίσιος παραλυομένην την τυμαννίδα παραδύξως αύτην άνεκτήσατο.

\*Ως Λακεδαιμόνιοι διώκησαν τὰ κατά τὴν Κλλάδα,

'Αλκιβιάδου θάνατος, καὶ Κλεάρχου τοῦ Λάκωνος τυραννὶς ἐν Βυζαντίω καὶ κατάλυσες.

'Ως Λύσανδρος ὁ Λακεδαιμώνιος ἐπιβαλύμενος καταλύσαι τοὺς ἀφ' Ηρακλέους ἀπέτυχεν.

'Ωε Διονύσιος Κατάνην μεν και Νάξου εξηνδραποδίσατο, Λεοντίνους δε μετήκατεν είς Συρακούσας.

Krious Adalons du tij Eucedige

Λακεδαιμονίων πρός 'Ηλείσης πόλεμος.

'Ως Διονήσιος το πρός τοις Έξαπύλοις τείχος κατεσκεύωσεν.

#### CONTENTS OF THE FOURTEENTH BOOK OF DIODORUS

The overthrow of the democracy in Athens and the establishment of the thirty men (chaps. 3-4).

The lawless conduct of the thirty men toward the

citizens (chaps. 5-6).

How the tyrant Dionysius prepared a citadel and distributed the city and its territory among the masses (chap. 7).

How Dionysius, to the amazement of all, recovered

his tyranny when it was collapsing (chaps. 8-9).

How the Lacedaemonians managed conditions in

Greece (chap. 10).

The death of Alcibiades, and the tyranny of Clearchus the Lacedaemonian in Byzantium and its overthrow (chaps. 11-12).

How Lysander the Lacedaemonian undertook to overthrow the descendants of Herseles and was

unsuccessful (chap. 13).

How Dionysius sold into slavery Catane and Naxos and transplanted the inhabitants of Leontini to Syracuse (chaps. 14-15).

The founding of Halaesa in Sicily (chap. 16).

The war between the Lacedaemonians and the Eleians (chap. 17).

How Dionysius constructed the wall at the Hexapyli

(chap. 18).

Ως Κύρος στρατείσας έπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀνηρέθη.

'Ως Λακεδαιμύνιοι τοῦς κατὰ τὴν 'Ασίαν "Κλλησιν ἐβοήθησαν.

Κτίσις 'Αδρανοῦ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν, καὶ Σωκράτους τοῦ φιλοσύφου θάνατος.

Κατασκευή τοῦ περί την Χερράνησον τείχους.

Παρασκευή Διονυσίου πρός του Καρχηδουιακόν πόλεμον και ύπλοποιία, καθ' ήν εθρε το καταπελτικόν βέλος.

'Ως Καρχηδονίοις και Διουνετίφ πύλεμος ένάττη.

'Ως Δωνίστιος Μοτίην πόλω ἐπίσημαν Καρχηδονίων ἐξεπολιόρκησεν.

'Ως Αίγεσταίοι την Διονισίου παρεμβολήν ενέπρησαν.

'Ως Καρχηδώνιοι τριάκοντα μυμώσει διαβάντες els τὴν Σικελίαν ἐπολέμουν πρὰς Διονίστου.

Διονισίου αποχώρησις είς τὰς Συρακούτας.

Καρχηδονίων στρατεία έπὶ τὸν πορθμόν, καὶ ἄλωσις της Μασσήνης.

Ναυμαχία Καρχηδονίων πρός Διονύσιου μεγάλη καὶ νίκη Καρχηδονίων.

Σύλησις των ναων της τε Δήμητρος και Κόρης ύπο Καρχηδονίων.

Κόλασις ἐκ θεῶν τῶν ἱεροσέλων, καὶ ψθορὰ τῆς Καρχηδονίων δυνάμεως ὑπὸ νόσου λοιμικῆς.

Ναυμαχία Συρακοσίων πρώς Καρχηδονίους καὶ νίκη Συρακοσίων.

<sup>1</sup> So Wesseling : πόλιμων.

#### BOOK XIV

How Cyrus led an army against his brother and was slain (chaps. 19-31).

How the Lacedaemonians came to the aid of the

Greeks of Asia (chaps. 35-36).

The founding of Adranum in Sicily and the death of Socrates the philosopher (chap. 37).

The construction of the wall on the Chersonesus

(chap. 38).

The preparations made by Dionysius for the war against the Carthaginians and his manufacture of arms, in connection with which he invented the missile hurled by a catapult (chaps. 41-41).

How war broke out between the Carthaginians and

Dionysius (chaps. 45-47).

How Dionysius reduced by siege Motyê, a notable

city of the Curthaginians (chaps. 48-53).

How the Aegestaeans set fire to the camp of

Dionysius (chap. 51).

How the Carthaginians crossed over to Sicily with three hundred thousand soldiers and made war upon Dionysius (chap. 55).

The retreat of Dionysius to Syracuse (chap. 55). The Carthaginian expedition to the Straits and

the capture of Messene (chaps. 56-58).

The great sea-battle between the Carthaginians and Dionysius and the victory of the Carthaginians (chaps. 59-62).

The plundering by the Carthaginians of the temples

of both Demeter and Corê (chap. 68).

The retribution by the gods upon the plunderers of the temples and the destruction of the Carthaginian host by a pestilence (chaps. 63, 70-71).

The sea-battle between the Syracusans and the Carthaginians and the victory of the Syracusans (chap. 64).

Δημηγορία Θεοδώρου περί της έλευθερίας.

Ως Διονίσιος τοὺς ταραχωδεστάτους χιλίους μισθοφόρους καταστρατηγήσας ἐποίησε κατακοπήναι.

'Ως Διονύσιος τὰ φρούρια καὶ τὴν παρεμβολήν τών

Καρχηδονίων ἐπολιόρκησεν.

'Ως Διονίσιος εκπολιορκήσας Καρχηδονίους πολλάς των πολεμίων ναύς ένέπρησεν.

Καρχηδονίων ήττα κατά γήν άμα καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. Δρασμὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων νυκτὸς Δωνιστίου συνερχήσαντος λάθρα τῶν Συρακοισίων ἐπὶ τετρακοισίας ταλάντοις.

Τὰ συμβάντα Καρχηδονίους δυσχερή διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἀσέβειαν.

Συνοικισμός τών κατά Σικελίαν άναστάτων γεγινημένων πόλεων.

'Ως Διονίστος των Σικελικών πόλεων ας μέν έξεπαλιάρκησεν, ας δ' είς συμμαχίαν προσηγάγετο.

'Ως προς τους δυνάστας 'Αγυρίν τε τον 'Αγυρηναίου

και Νικόδημον τον Κεντοριπίνον φελίαν συνέθετο.

'Ως 'Αγησίλασε ὁ Σπαρταιτών βιατιλείς μετά δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν 'Ασάιν διέβη και τὴν ὑπὸ Πέρσας τεταγμένην χώραν ἐπόρθησεν.

'Ως 'Αγησίλαυς ένίκησε μάχη τοὺς Πέμιτας ήγουμένου

Φαρναβάζου.

Περί τοῦ Βοιωτικοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν πραχθέντων ἐν αὐτῷ.

'Ως Κόνων ὑπὸ Περσών κατασταθείς στρατηγός τὰ τείχη τών 'Αθηναίων ἀνοκοδόμησεν.

<sup>1</sup> So Vogel : δόλος.

Damon in Diodorus' text.

#### BOOK XIV

The speech in the assembly on freedom by Theo-

dorus (chaps. 65-69).

How Dionysius outgeneralled the thousand most turbulent increenaries of his and caused them to be massacred (chap. 72).

How Dionysius laid siege to the outposts and camp

of the Carthaginians (chap. 72).

How Dionysius reduced the Carthaginians by siege and set fire to many ships of the enemy (chap. 73).

The defeat of the Carthaginians by land and also

by sea (chap. 74).

The flight of the Carthaginians by night, Dionysius having co-operated with them without the knowledge of the Syracusans for a bribe of four hundred talents (chap. 75).

The difficulties which befell the Carthaginians because of their impiety against the deity (chaps.

76-77).

The merging of the cities of Sicily which had been

laid waste (chap. 78).

How Dionysius reduced by siege certain of the cities of Sicily and brought others into an alliance (chap. 78).

How he established relations of friendship with the rulers Agyris of Agyrium and Nicodemus of Centuripac (chap. 78).

How Agesilaus, the Spartan king, crossed over into Asia with an army and laid waste the territory which

was subject to the Persians (chap. 79).

How Agesilais defeated in battle the Persians, who were commanded by Pharnabazus (chap. 80).

On the Bocotian War and the actions comprised in

it (chap. 81).

How Conon was appointed general by the Persians and rebuilt the walls of the Athenians (chaps. 81, 85).

'Ως περί Κόρινθον Λακεδαιμόνιοι Βοιωτούς ενίκησαν και ὁ πόλεμος οδτος εκλήθη Κορινθιακός.

'Ως Διονίσιος μετά πολλών κινδίνων παρεισπετών είς το Ταυρομένιον έξέπεσεν.

'Ως Καρχηδόνιοι περὶ πόλιν Βάκαιναν ήττήθησαν όπο Διουμείου.

Στρατεία Καρχηδονίων εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ κατάλνεις τοῦ πολέμου.

'Ως Θίβρος ὁ Λακεδαιμώνιος δυ στρατηγός ύπὸ Περιτών ήττηθεὶς ἀνηρέθη.

'Ως Διονέσιυς 'Ρήγιον ἐπολιόρκησει.

'Ως οἱ κατὰ τὴν 'Ιταλίαν "Ελληνες εἰς μίαν πολιτείαν συστάντες ἀντετάξαντο πρὸς Διονύσιον.

'Ως Διονύσιος νικήσας τη μάχη καὶ μυρίους αἰχμαλώτους λαβών, ἀπέλυσεν ἄνευ λύτρων καὶ ταίς πύλεσιν αὐτονομεῖσθαι συνεχώρησεν.

Καυλωνίας καὶ Ίππωνίου άλωσις καὶ κατωτκαφή καὶ μετοίκησις εἰς Συρακούσας.

'Ως οί "Ελληνες πρός 'Αρταξέρξην εἰρήνην ἐποιήσαντο τὴν 'Ανταλκίδου,

'Ρηγίου άλωσις καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀτυχήματα,

"Αλωσις 'Ρώμης ὑπὸ Γαλατών πλήν τοῦ Καπετωλίου,

#### BOOK XIV

How the Lacedaemonians defeated the Bocotians near Corinth and this war was called the Corinthian (chap. 86).

How Dionysius forced his way with much fighting into Tauromenium and then was driven out (chaps,

87-88).

How the Carthaginians were defeated near the city

of Bacaena a by Dionysius (chap. 90).

The expedition of the Carthaginians to Sicily and the settlement of the war (chaps, 95-96).

How Thibrus, the Lacedaemonian general, was

defeated by the Persians and slain (chap. 99).

How Dionysius laid siege to Rhegium (chaps. 108,

111).

How the Greeks of Italy joined to form a single political group and took the field against Dionysius

(chap. 103).

How Dionysius, although he had been victorious in battle and had taken ten thousand prisoners, let them go without requiring ransom and allowed the cities to live under their own laws (chap. 105).

The capture and razing of Caulonia and Hipponium and the removal of their inhabitants to Syracuse

(chaps. 106-107).

How the Greeks concluded the Peace of Antalcidas

with Artaxerxes (chap. 110).

The capture of Rhegium and the disasters suffered

by the city (chaps, 111-112).

The capture of Rome, except for the Capitoline, by the Gauls (chaps, 114-117).

Abucacné in Diodorus' text. \* Thibron in Diodorus' text.

### ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ

#### TOT ZIKEAINTOT

#### ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΗΣ

#### BIBAON TENNAPREKAIAKKATII

1. Πάντας μέν ίσως είκος έστι προσάντως ακούειν τας καθ' έαυτων βλασφημίας και γαρ οί κατά πῶν ἔκδηλον ἔχοντες τὴν ἐαυτῶν κακίαν ὤστε μηδ' έξαρνείσθαι, όμως ψόγου τυγχάνοντες διαγανακτούσι και λόγους εισφέρειν πειρώνται πρός την κατηγορίαν. διόπερ εὐλαβητέον ἐκ παντός τρόπου τό πράττειν τι φαθλον πάσι, μάλιστα μέντοι τοῖς ηγεμονίας δρεγομένοις ή τινος επισήμου τύχης 2 μεταλαβούσιν ο γάρ τούτων βίος περίοπτος ών διά την επιφάνειαν έν πάσιν άδυνατεί κρύπτειν την ίδιαν άγνοιαν ωστε μηδείς έλπιζέτω των τυχόντων ύπεροχής τινος, αν εξαμαρτάνη μεγάλα, λήσεσθαι διά τέλους ανεπιτίμητος. και γάρ αν έν τω καθ' έαυτον βίω διαφύγη τον από της επιτιμήσεως λόγον, υστερον ήξειν επ' αυτον προσδεχέσθω την άλήθειαν μετά παρρησίας κηρύττουσαν τά πάλαι 8 σιωπώμενα. χαλεπον ούν τοῖς φαύλοις τοῦ παντός

# THE LIBRARY OF HISTORY OF DIODORUS OF SICILY

#### BOOK XIV

1. All men, perhaps naturally, are disinclined to listen to obloquies that are uttered against them. Indeed even those whose evil-doing is in every respect so manifest that it cannot even be denied, none the less decoly resent it when they are the objects of censure and endeavour to make a reply to the accusation. Consequently all men should take every possible care not to commit any evil deed, and those especially who aspire to leadership or have been favoured by some striking gift of Fortune; for since the life of such men is in all things an open book because of their distinction, it cannot conceal its own unwisdom. Let no man, therefore, who has gained some kind of preeminence, cherish the hope that, if he commits great crimes, he will for all time escape notice and go uncensured. For even if during his own lifetime he cludes the sentence of rebuke, let him expect that at a later time Truth will find him out, frankly proclaiming abroad matters long hidden from mention. It is, therefore, a hard fate for wicked men that at

βίου καθάπερ αθάνατον εἰκόνα μετὰ τὴν ιδίαν τελευτὴν ἀπολείπειν τοις μεταγενεστέροις και γὰρ εἰ μηδέν ἐστι πρὸς ἡμῶς τὰ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον, καθάπερ ἔνιοι τῶν φιλοσόφων θρυλοῦσιν, ὅμως ὅ γε προγεγενημένος βίος γίνεται πολὰ χείρων ἄπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα¹ ἐπὶ κακῷ μνημονευόμενος. ἐμφανῆ δὰ τούτων παραδείγματα λαμβάνειν ἔξεστι τοις ἀνα-

γνουσι τὰ κατὰ μέρος τῆσδε τῆς βίβλου.

2. Παρά μεν γάρ 'Αθηναίοις τριάκοντα τύραννοι γενόμενοι δια την ίδιαν πλεονεξίαν την τε πατρίδα μεγάλοις ατυχήμασι περιέβαλον και αυτοί ταχύ την δύναμιν αποβαλόντες αθάνατον έαυτων ονειδος καταλελοίπασι, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δε περιποιησάμενοι την της Ελλάδος άρχην αναμφισβήτητον, τότε ταύτης έστερήθησαν ότε πράξεις αδίκους κατά των συμμάχων επιτελείν επεχείρησαν αί γάρ των ήγεμόνων υπεροχαί τηρούνται μέν εὐνοία και δικαιοσύνη, καταλύονται δε άδικήμασι καὶ μίσει των 2 ύποτεταγμένων. παραπλησίως δε και Διονύσιος ό Συρακοσίων τύραννος, καίπερ εὐτυχέστατος τῶν δυναστών γεγονώς, ζών μέν οὐ διέλιπεν επιβουλευόμενος και δια τον φόβον ήναγκάζετο φέρειν ύπο τον χιτώνα σιδηρούν θώρακα, τελευτήσας δέ μέγιστον είς βλασφημίας παράδειγμα καταλέλοιπε τον έαυτου βίον είς απαντα τον αίωνα.

8 'Αλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις ἔκαστον ἀναγράψομεν σαφέστερον, νῦν δ' ἐπὶ τὰ συνεχῆ τοῖς προϊστορημένοις τρεψόμεθα, τοὺς χρόνους μόνον διορίζοντες. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς πρὸ ταύτης βίβλοις ἀνεγράψαμεν τὰς ἀπὸ Τροίας ἀλώ-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> So Dobraeus, χρόνον Dindorf: βίον.

\* So Wesseling: ἐνί.

their death they leave to posterity an undying image, so to speak, of their entire life; for even if those things that follow after death do not concern us, as certain philosophers keep chanting, nevertheless the life which has preceded death becomes far worse throughout all time for the evil memory that it enjoys. Manifest examples of this may be found by those who read the detailed story contained in this Book.

2. Among the Athenians, for example, thirty men who became tyrants from their own lust of gain, not only involved their native land in great misfortunes but themselves soon lost their power and have bequeathed a deathless memorial of their own disgrace. The Lacednemonians, after winning for themselves the undisputed sovereignty of Greece, were shorn of it from the moment when they sought to carry out unjust projects at the expense of their allies. For the superiority of those who enjoy leadership is maintained by goodwill and justice, and is overthrown by acts of injustice and by the hatred of their subjects. Similarly Dionysius, the tyrant of the Syracusans, although he has been the most fortunate of such rulers, was incessantly plotted against while alive. was compelled by fear to wear an iron corselet under his tunic, and has bequeathed since his death his own life as an outstanding example unto all ages for the maledictions of men.

But we shall record each one of these illustrations with more detail in connection with the appropriate period of time; for the present we shall take up the continuation of our account, pausing only to define our dates. In the preceding Books we have set down a record of events from the capture of Troy to the end

σεως πράξεις εως επί την κατάλυσιν τοῦ τε Πελοποινησιακοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῆς 'Αθηναίων ἡγεμονίας, διελθόντες ετη έπτακόσια έβδομήκοντα εννέα: εν ταύτη δὲ τὰς αυνεχεῖς πράξεις προσαναπληροῦντες ἀρξόμεθα ἐκ τῶν κατασταθέντων 'Αθήνησι τριάκοντα τυράννων, καταλήξομεν δὲ επὶ τὴν 'Ρώμης ἄλωσιν ὑπὸ Γαλατῶν, περιλαβόντες

έτη δέκα δκτώ.

8. 'Αναρχίας γάρ ούσης 'Αθήνησι διά την κατάλυσιν της ήγεμονίας, έτος μέν ήν ογδοηκοστον πρός τοις έπτακοσίοις μετά την Τροίας άλωσιν, εν δέ τη 'Ρώμη χιλίαρχοι διεδέξαυτο την υπατον αρχήν τέτταρες, Γάιος Φολούιος και Γάιος Σερουίλιος και Γάιος Οθαλέριος και Νουμέριος Φάβιος, ήγθη δέ 'Ολυμπιάς κατά τούτον τον ένιαυτον τετάρτη πρός ταις ένενήκοντα, καθ' ήν ένίκα Κορκίνας Λαρισαίος. 2 κατά δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους 'Αθηναΐοι μέν καταπεπονημένοι εποιήσαντο συνθήκας πρός Λακεδαιμονίους καθ' ας έδει τὰ τείχη της πόλεως καθελείν και τη πατρίω πολιτεία χρησθαι. και τὰ μέν τείχη περιείλου, περί δέ της πολυτείας πρός αλλήλους 3 διεφέροντο, οί γὰρ τῆς όλιγαρχίας όρεγομενοι τὴν παλαιάν κατάστασιν έφασαν δείν άνανεοθοθαι, καθ ήν παντελώς ολίγοι των όλων προειστήκεισαν οί δε πλείστοι δημοκρατίας όντες επιθυμηταί την των πατέρων πολιτείαν προεφέροντο και ταύτην απέφηναν δμολογουμένως ούσαν δημοκρατίαν.

1 δως Sintenis: ώς.
3 δεῖν ἀνανεοῦσθαι Μαθνίς : διανείμασθαι.
3 προεφέροντο] προσεφέροντο P.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> i.e. from 1184 s.c. to 405 s.c. Athens capitulated in 14

#### BOOK XIV. 2, 4-3, 3

of the Peloponnesian War and of the Athenian Empire, covering a period of seven hundred and seventy-nine years.1 In this Book, as we add to our narrative the events next succeeding, we shall commence with the establishment of the thirty tyrants and stop with the capture of Rome by the Gauls, embracing a period of eighteen years.

3. There was no archon in Athens because of the 400 a.c. overthrow of the government,1 it being the seven hundred and eightieth year from the capture of Troy, and in Rome four military tribunes succeeded to the consular magistracy, Gaius Fulvius, Gaius Servilius, Gaius Valerius, and Numerius Fabius; and in this year the Ninety-fourth Olympiad was celebrated, that in which Corcinas of Larisa was victor. At this time the Athenians, completely reduced by exhaustion, made a treaty with the Lacedaemonians whereby they were bound to demolish the walls of their city and to employ the polity of their fathers. They demolished the walls, but were unable to agree among themselves regarding the form of government. For those who were bent on oligarchy asserted that the ancient constitution should be revived, in which only a very few represented the state, whereas the greatest number, who were partisans of democracy, made the government of their fathers their platform and declared that this was by common consent a democracy.

April 404 B.C., but Diodorus' year is the Athenian archon

year, in this case July 405 to July 404.

Crocinus in Xenophon, Hell. 2. 3. 1. In the "stadion."

The name of Pythodorus, the archon of the year, was not used by the Athenians to mark the year since he was not elected legally (cp. Xenophon, Hell. 2. 3. 1).

'Αντιλογίας δε γενομένης περί τούτων επί τινας ήμέρας, οί τὰς όλιγαρχίας αίρούμενοι πρός Λύσανδρον διεπρεσβεύσαντο του Σπαρτιάτην (ούτος γαρ καταλυθέντος τοῦ πολέμου τὰ κατὰ τὰς πόλεις απέσταλτο διοικήσαι, και ολιγαρχίαι έν ταις πλείσταις καθίσταντο), ελπίζουτες δπερ ήν εἰκός, συνεπιλήψεσθαι της επιβολής αὐτοῖς. διέπλευσαν ούν els Σάμον έκει γάρ ετύγχανε διατρίβων ό 5 Λύσανδρος, προσφάτως είληφως την πόλιν. παρακαλούντων δε αὐτὸν πρὸς τὰ συνεργησαι συνεπένευσε, και της μεν Σάμου Θώρακα τον Σπαρτιάτην άρμοστήν κατέστησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ νεῶν έκατὸν κατέπλευσεν είς τον Πειραιέα. συναγανών δ' έκκλησίαν συνεβούλευσε τοῖς 'Αθηναίοις έλέσθαι τριάκοντα άνδρας τους αφηγησομένους της πολιτείας καὶ πάντα διοικήσοντας τὰ κατά τὴν πόλιν. 6 αντειπόντος δε του Θηραμένους και τας συνθήκας άναγινώσκοντος, ότι τη πατρίω συνεφώνησε χρήσεσθαι πολιτεία, καὶ δεινόν είναι λέγοντος εὶ παρά τούς δρκους άφαιρεθήσονται την ελευθερίαν, ό Λύσανδρος έφη λελύσθαι τὰς συνθήκας ὑπὸ ᾿Αθηναίων υστερον γάρ των συγκειμένων ήμερων καθηρηκέναι τὰ τείχη. ἀνετείνατο δὲ καὶ τῶ Θηραμένει τὰς μεγίστας ἀπειλάς, ἀποκτενεῖν φήσας εἰ 7 μη παύσεται Λακεδαιμονίοις έναντιούμενος. διόπερ ο τε Θηραμένης και ο δήμος καταπλαγείς ήναγκάζετο χειροτονία καταλύσαι την δημοκρατίαν. ηρέθησαν ούν τριάκοντα ανδρες οί διοικήσοντες τὰ κοινά της πόλεως, άρμόζοντες μέν τω λόγω, τύραννοι δέ τοῖς πράγμασιν.

<sup>3</sup> τά added by Dindorf.
<sup>3</sup> ούχ after ελπέζοντες deleted by Rhodoman.

#### BOOK XIV. 8, 4-7

After a controversy over this had continued for 604 mc. some days, the oligarchic party sent an embassy to Lysander the Spartan, who, at the end of the war, had been dispatched to administer the governments of the cities and had established oligarchies in the greater number of them, for they hoped that, as well he might, he would support them in their design. Accordingly they sailed across to Samos, for it happened that Lysander was tarrying there, having just seized the city. He gave his assent to their pleas for his co-operation, appointed Thorax the Spartan harmost 1 of Samos, and put in himself at the Peiraeus with one hundred ships. Calling an assembly of the Athenians, he advised them to choose thirty men to head the government and to manage all the affairs of the state. And when Theramenes opposed him and read to him the terms of the peace, which agreed that they should enjoy the government of their fathers, and declared that it would be a terrible thing if they should be robbed of their freedom contrary to the oaths, Lysander stated that the terms of peace had been broken by the Athenians, since, he asserted, they had destroyed the walls later than the days of grace agreed upon. He also invoked the direct threats against Theramenes, saying that he would have him put to death if he did not stop opposing the Lacedaemonians. Consequently Theramenes and the people, being struck with terror, were compelled to dissolve the democracy by a show of hands. Accordingly thirty men were elected with power to manage the affairs of the state, as directors ostensibly but tyrants in fact.

<sup>1</sup> Commander of the Sportan garrison and governor of the city.

4. 'Ο δέ δήμος θεωρών την Θηραμένους έπιείκειαν καὶ νομίζων τη τούτου καλοκάγαθία την πλεονεξίαν των προεστηκότων επί ποσον ανασταλήσεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτον έν τοῖς τριάκοντ' ἄργουσιν έχειροτόνησεν. έδει δε τούς ήρημένους βουλήν τε και τας άλλας άρχας καταστήσαι, και νόμους συγ-2 γράψαι καθ' ους εμελλου πολιτεύεσθαι. τὰ μεν οδυ περί της νομοθεσίας ανεβάλοντο, προφάσεις ευλόγους αίει ποριζόμενοι, βουλήν δέ και τας άλλας άρχας εκ των ιδίων φίλων κατέστησαν, ώστε τούτους καλείσθαι μέν άρχοντας, είναι δ' ύπηρέτας των τριάκουτα. και το μεν πρώτον παραδιδόντες κρίσει τους πονηροτάτους των έν τη πόλει κατεδίκαζον θανάτω και μέχρι τούτου τοις επιεικεστά-3 τοις των πολιτων εὐαρέστει τὰ γινόμενα. μετὰ δὲ ταθτα βουλόμενοι βιαιότερα καὶ παράνομα πράττειν, ήτήσαντο παρά Λακεδαιμονίων φρουράν, λέγοντες ότι την πολιτείαν καταστήσουσιν εκείνοις συμφέρουσαν. ήδεισαν γάρ ότι φόνους επιτελείν ούκ αν δύναιντο χωρίς ξενικών ὅπλων πάντας γάρ 4 ανθέξεσθαι της κοινής ασφαλείας. Λακεδαιμονίων δέ πεμψάντων φρουράν και τον ταύτης ήγησομενον Καλλίβιον, του μεν φρούραρχον εξεθεράπευσαν δώροις και τοις άλλοις φιλανθρώποις οι τριάκοντα, των δέ πλουσίων επιλέγοντες τους επιτηδείους συνελάμβανον ώς νεωτερίζοντας, και βανάτω περιδ βάλλοντες τὰς οὐσίας εδήμευον. τοῦ δὲ Θηραμένους εναντιουμένου τοῖς συνάρχουσι καὶ μετά των αντεχομένων της σωτηρίας απειλούντος αμύνεσθαι, συνήγαγον την βουλην οι τριάκοντα. Κριτίου δε προεστώτος αὐτών και πολλά κατ-

4. The people, observing the fair dealing of Thera- 404 s.o. menes and believing that his honourable principles would act to some extent to check the encroachments of the leaders, cleeted him also as one of the thirty officials. It was the duty of those selected to appoint both a Council and the other magistrates and to draw up laws in accordance with which they were to administer the state. Now they kept postponing the drawing up of laws, always putting forth fine-sounding excuses, but a Council and the other magistrates they appointed from their personal friends, so that these bore the name indeed of magistrates but actually were underlings of the Thirty. At first they brought to trial the lowest elements of the city and condemned them to death; and thus far the most honourable citizens approved of their actions. But after this, desiring to commit acts more violent and lawless, they asked the Lacedaemonians for a garrison, saying that they were going to establish a form of government that would serve the interests of the Lacedacmonians. For they realized that they would be unable to accomplish murders without foreign armed aid, since all men, they knew, would unite to support the common security. When the Lacedaemonians sent a garrison and Callibius to command it, the Thirty won the commander over by bribes and other accommodations. Then, choosing out from the rich such men as suited their ends, they proceeded to arrest them as revolutionaries, put them to death, and confiscated their possessions. When Theramenes opposed his colleagues and threatened to join the ranks of those who claimed the right to be secure, the Thirty called a meeting of the Council. Critias was their spokesman, and in a long speech accused

ηγορήσαντος τοῦ Θηραμένους, ότι προδίδωσι την πολιτείαν ταύτην ής αὐτὸς έκουσίως κοινωνεί. παραλαβών τον λόγον δ Θηραμένης και περί των κατά μέρος ἀπολογησάμενος, ἄπασαν ἔσχε τὴν 6 βουλήν εύνουν, οί δὲ περί τὸν Κριτίαν φοβούμενοι τον άνδρα μήποτε καταλύση την όλιγαρχίαν, περιέστησαν στρατιώτας έχοντας έσπασμένα τὰ ξίφη,

7 καὶ τὸν Θηραμένην συνελάμβανον. ὁ δὲ φθάσας ανεπήδησε μέν πρός την βουλαίαν Εστίαν, έφησε δέ πρός τούς θεούς καταφεύνειν, ού σωθήσεσθαι νομίζων άλλα σπεύδων τοις άνελουσιν αυτόν περι-

ποιήσασθαι την είς τους θεούς ασέβειαν.

5. Παρελθόντων δε των υπηρετών και αποσπώντων αὐτόν, ὁ μεν Θηραμένης έφερε γενναίως την άτυγίαν, άτε καὶ φιλοσοφίας έπὶ πλείον μετεσγηκώς παρά Σωκράτει, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλήθος ήλέει δυστυχούντα τὸν Θηραμένην, οὐ μὴν ἐτόλμα βοηθεῖν 2 περιεστώτων πολλών μετά οπλων. Σωκράτης δέ ό φιλόσοφος και δύο των οικείων προσδραμόντες ένεχείρουν κωλύειν τους υπηρέτας. ό δε Θηραμένης ήξίου μηδέν τούτων πράττειν την μέν γάρ φιλίαν και την ανδρείαν έφησεν αυτών επαινείν. έαυτω δέ μεγίστην συμφοράν έσεσθαι, εί τοις ούτως 3 οἰκείως διακειμένοις αἴτιος ἔσται θανάτου. περί τον Σωκράτην, των μέν άλλων οὐδένα βοηθόν έχοντες, την δε των ύπερεχόντων ανάτασιν όρωντες αύξανομένην, ήσυχίαν έσχον. και Θηραμένην μέν

#### BOOK XIV. 4. 5-5. 3

Theramenes of betraying this government of which 404 s.c. he was a voluntary member; but Theramenes in his reply cleared himself of the several charges and gained the sympathy of the entire Council.¹ Critias, fearing that Theramenes might overthrow the oligarchy, threw about him a band of soldiers with drawn swords. They were going to arrest him, but, forestalling them, Theramenes leaped up to the altar of Hestia of the Council Chamber, crying out, "I flee for refuge to the gods, not with the thought that I shall be saved, but to make sure that my slayers will involve them-

selves in an act of impicty against the gods."

5. When the attendants \* came forward and were dragging him off, Theramenes bore his bad fortune with a noble spirit, since indeed he had had no little acquaintance with philosophy in company with Socrates; the multitude, however, in general mourned the ill-fortune of Theramenes, but had not the courage to come to his aid since a strong armed guard stood around him. Now Socrates the philosopher and two of his intimates ran forward and endeavoured to hinder the attendants. But Theramenes entreated them to do nothing of the kind; he appreciated, he said, their friendship and bravery. but as for himself, it would be the greatest grief if he should be the cause of the death of those who were so intimately associated with him. Socrates and his helpers, since they had no aid from anyone else and saw the intransigence of those in authority increasing, made no move. Then those who had received their

1 The speeches of Critias and Theramenes are given in

Xenophon, Hell. 2. 3. 24-49.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> i.s. of The Eleven, a Board which had charge of condemned prisoners and of the execution of the death sentence (cp. Xenophon, Hall. 2. 3. 54).

ἀπό τῶν βωμῶν ἀποσπάσαντες οἰς ἡν προστεταγμένον, διὰ μέσης τῆς ἀγορᾶς εἴλκυσαν ἐπὶ τὸν

θάνατον· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τὰ τῆς φρουρᾶς ὅπλα καταπεπληγμένοι συνήλγουν τῷ δυστυχοῦντι, καὶ τήν
τε ἐκείνου συμφορὰν ἄμα καὶ τὴν περὶ σφᾶς δουλείαν ἐδάκρυον· τῶν γὰρ ταπεινῶν ἕκαστοι τὴν
Θηραμένους ἀρετὴν θεωροῦντες οὕτω προπηλακιζομένην, τὴν περὶ αὐτοὺς ἀσθένειαν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ

παραναλωθήσεσθαι διειλήφεισαν.

5 Μετά δε του τούτου θάνατον οι τριάκοντα τούς πλουσίους επιλεγόμενοι, τούτοις ψευδείς αίτίας έπερρίπτουν, καὶ φονεύοντες τὰς οὐσίας διήρπαζον. ανείλου δε και Νικήρατου του Νικίου του στρατηγήσαντος έπὶ Συρακοσίους υίου, ἄνδρα πρός απαντας επιεική και φιλάνθρωπον, πλούτω δε και δόξη 6 σχεδόν πρώτον πάντων 'Αθηναίων' διό καὶ συνέβη πάσαν οἰκίαν συναλγήσαι τῆ τάνδρος τελευτή, τής διά την επιείκειαν μνήμης προαγούσης είς δάκρυα. ού μην έληγόν γε της παρανομίας οι τύραννοι, πολύ δε μάλλον επίτασω λαμβανούσης της απονοίας των μεν ξένων τούς πλουσιωτάτους εξήκοντα κατέσφαξαν, όπως των χρημάτων κυριεύσωσι, των δέ πολιτών καθ' ημέραν αναιρουμένων οι τοις βίοις εὐπορούμενοι σχεδον απαντες έφυγον έκ τῆς 7 πόλεως. ἀνείλου δὲ καὶ Αὐτόλυκου, ἄνδρα παρρησιαστήν, καὶ καθόλου τούς χαριεστάτους ἐπέλεγον. έπὶ τοσούτο δὲ κατέφθειραν τὴν πόλιν, ώστε φυγείν τούς 'Αθηναίους πλείους των ήμίσεων.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> So Eichstädt : διαιλήφασιν PA, διαιλήφασι cet. γε Reiske : τε. ἐπίτασιν Reiske : ἐν ἄπασιν.

#### BOOK XIV. 5, 3-7

orders dragged Theramenes from the altar and 404 a.c. hustled him through the centre of the market-place to his execution; and the populace, terror-stricken at the arms of the garrison, were filled with pity for the unfortunate man and shed tears, not only over his fate but also over their own slavery. For all the common sort, when they saw a man of such virtue as Theramenes treated with such contumely, had concluded that they in their weakness would be sacrificed without a thought.

After the death of Theramenes the Thirty drew up a list of the wealthy, lodged false charges against them, put them to death, and seized their estates. They slew even Niceratus, the son of Nicias who had commanded the campaign against the Syracusans, a man who had conducted himself toward all men with fairness and humanity, and who was perhaps first of all Athenians in wealth and reputation. It came about, therefore, that every house was filled with pity for the end of the man, as fond thoughts due to their memory of his honest ways provoked them to tears. Nevertheless, the tyrants did not cease from their lawless conduct: rather their madness became so much the more acute that of the metics they slaughtered sixty of the wealthiest in order to gain possession of their property, and as for the citizens, since they were being killed daily, the well-to-do among them fled from the city almost to a man. They also slew Autolycus,1 an outspoken man, and, in a word, selected the most respectable citizens. So far did their wasting of the city go that more than half of the Athenians took to flight.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A pancratiast (boxer and wrestler) whom Xenophon makes the chief character in his Symposium. See Plutarch, Lysander, 15.

6. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ταπεινὴν τὴν πύλιν τῶν 'Αθηναίων ὁρῶντες, οὐδέποτε ἰσχῦσαι βουλόμενοι τοὺς 'Αθηναίους, ἔχαιρον καὶ φανερὰν ἐαυτῶν ἐποίουν τὴν διάθεσιν ἐψηφίσαντο γὰρ τοὺς 'Αθηναίων φυγάδας ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Έλλάδος ἀγωγίμους τοῖς τριάκοντα εἶναι, τὸν δὲ κωλύσοντα² πέντε ταλάντοις ἔνοχον εἶναι. δεινοῦ δ᾽ ὄντος τοῦ ψηφίσματος, αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι πόλεις καταπεπληγμέναι τὸ βάρος τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ὑπήκουον, 'Αργεῖοι δὲ πρῶτοι, μισοῦντες μὲν τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀμότητα, κατελεοῦντες δὲ τὰς τύχιις τῶν ἀκληρούντητα, κατελεοῦντες δὲ τὰς τύχιις τῶν ἀκληρούντην, ὑπεδέχοντο φιλανθρώπως τοὺς φυγίδας. καὶ Θηβαῖοι δὲ ἐψηφίσαντο ὑπάρχειν πρύστιμον τῷ θεασαμένω μὲν ἀγόμενον φυγάδα μὴ βοηθήσαντι δὲ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν.

Τὰ μέν οὖν περί 'Αθηναίους ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

7. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν Διονύσιος ὁ τῶν Σικελῶν τύραννος ἐπειδὴ πρὸς Καρχηδονίους εἰρήνην ἐποιήσατο, περὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τῆς τυραννίδος διενοεῖτο μᾶλλον γίνεσθαι ὑπελάμβανε γὰρ τοὺς Συρακοσίους ἀπολελυμένους τοῦ πολέμου σχολὴν ἔξεω εἰς τὸ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀνακτήσασθαι. θεωρῶν δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὴν Νῆσον ὀχυρωτάτην οὐσαν καὶ δυναμένην ῥαδίως φυλάττεσθαι, ταύτην μὲν διωκοδόμησεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως τείχει πολυτελεῖ, καὶ πύργους ὑψηλοὺς καὶ πυκνοὺς ἐνωκοδόμησε, καὶ πρὸ αὐτῆς χρηματιστήρια καὶ στοὰς δυναμένας ὅχλων ἐπιδέχεσθαι πλῆθος. ψκοδόμησε

2 διανοείτο μάλλον Reiske: διανόει το μέλλον.

<sup>1</sup> ταπεινήν added by Wurm, ούτω φερομένην (οτ διακειμένην, διεφθαρμένην) by Reiske. Vogel reads στάσω for πόλω.
κωλύσοντα P, κωλύσαντα est.

6. The Lacedaemonians, seeing the city of the 404 a.c. Athenians abased in power and having no desire that the Athenians should ever gain strength, were delighted and made their attitude clear; for they voted that the Athenian exiles should be delivered up to the Thirty from all over Greece and that anyone who attempted to prevent this should be liable to a fine of five talents. Though this decree was shocking, all the rest of the cities, dismayed at the power of the Spartans, obeyed it, with the exception of the Argives who, hating as they did the crucky of the Lacedaemonians and pitying the hard lot of the unfortunate. were the first to receive the exiles in a spirit of humanity. Also the Thebans voted that anyone who witnessed an exile being led off and did not render him all aid within his power should be subject to a

Such, then, was the state of the affairs of the Athenians.

7. In Sicily, Dionysius, the tyrant of the Siceli, after concluding peace with the Carthaginians, planned to busy himself more with the strengthening of his tyranny; for he assumed that the Syracusans, now that they were relieved of the war, would have plenty of time to seek after the recovery of their liberty. And, perceiving that the Island was the strongest section of the city and could be easily defended, he divided it from the rest of the city by an expensive wall, and in this he set high towers at close intervals, while before it he built places of business and stoas capable of accommodating a multitude of

Ortygia.

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;Siceli" must be an error for "Sicilian Greeks" or "Syracusans."

δ' ἐν αὐτῆ πολυτελῶς ὡχυρωμένην ἀκρόπολιν πρὸς τὰς αἰφνιδίους καταφυγάς, καὶ συμπεριέλαβε τῷ ταύτης τείχει τὰ πρὸς τῷ μικρῷ λιμένι τῷ Λακκίῳ καλουμένω νεώρια· ταῦτα δ' ἐξήκοντα τριήρεις χωροῦντα πύλην είχε κλειομένην, δι' ἦς κατὰ μίαν τῶν νεῶν εἰσπλεῦν συνέβαινεν. τῆς δὲ χώρας τὴν μὲν ἀρίστην ἐξελόμενος ἐδωρήσατο τοῦς τε φίλοις καὶ τοῦς ἐφ' ἡγεμονίας τεταγμένοις, τὴν δ' ἄλλην ἐμέρισεν ἐπ' ἴσης ξένω τε καὶ πολίτη, συμπεριλαβών τῷ τῶν πολιτῶν ὀνόματι τοὺς ἡλευθερω-δ μένους δούλους, οῦς ἐκάλει νεοπολίτας. διέδωκε δὲ καὶ τὰς οἰκίας τοῦς ὅχλοις πλὴν τῶν ἐν τῆ Νήσω· ταύτας δὲ τοῦς φίλοις καὶ τοῦς μιαθοφόροις ἐδωρήσατο.

'Ἐπεὶ δὶ πὰ κατὰ τὰν τυρονείδα κολῶς ἐδόκει.

Έπει δέ τὰ κατά την τυραννίδα καλώς εδόκει διωκηκέναι, την δύναμιν εξήγαγεν επί τους Σικελούς, πάντας μεν σπεύδων τούς αὐτονόμους ύφ' έαυτον ποιήσασθαι, μάλιστα δέ τούτους διά τὸ θ συμμαχήσαι πρότερον Καρχηδονίοις. ούτος μέν ούν έπι την των Ερβησσίνων πόλιν στρατεύσας τὰ πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν παρεσκευάζετο. οἱ δὲ συστρατευόμενοι Συρακόσιοι κύριοι τών δπλων όντες συστάσεις έποιούντο καὶ κατηγόρουν άλλήλων ότι τοις ίππεῦσιν οὐ συνεπελάβοντο τῆς καταλύσεως της του τυράννου. ὁ δὲ καθεσταμένος ὑπὸ του Διονυσίου των στρατιωτών ήγεμών το μέν πρώτον ήπείλησε τινι τών παρρησιαζομένων, άντειπόντος δ' εκείνου θρασέως επηλθεν ώς πατάξων. 7 ἐφ' ὧ παροξυνθέντες οἱ στρατιῶται τὸν μὲν ἔπαρχον ονομα Δωρικον απέκτειναν, τους δε πολίτας βοών-

So Reiske: δέψεγκεν.
 So Dindorf (cp. ch. 78. 7): Έρβησωών,

the populace. He also constructed on the Island at 401 P.C. great expense a fortified acropolis as a place of refuge in case of immediate need, and within its wall he enclosed the dockyards which are connected with the small harbour that is known as Laccium. The dockvards could accommodate sixty triremes and had an entrance that was closed off, through which only one ship could enter at a time. As for the territory of Syracuse, he picked out the best of it and distributed it in gifts to his friends as well as to higher officers, and divided the rest of it in equal portions both to aliens and to citizens, including under the name of citizens the manumitted slaves whom he designated as New Citizens. He also distributed the dwellings among the common people, except those on the island, which he gave to his friends and the mercenaries.

When Dionysius thought that he had now organized his tyranny properly, he led forth his army against the Siceli, being eager to bring all the independent peoples under his control, and the Siceli in particular, because of their previous alliance with the Carthaginians. Accordingly he advanced against the city of the Herbessini and made preparations for its siege. But the Syracusans who were in the army, now that they had arms in their hands, began to gather in groups and upbraid each other that they had not joined with the cavalry in overthrowing the tyrant.1 The man appointed by Dionysius to command the men at first warned one of those who were freespoken, and when the man retorted, stepped boldly up to him to give him a blow. The soldiers, in anger at this, slew the commander, whose name was Doricus, and, crying

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 18, 119.

τες έπι την έλευθερίαν μετεπέμποντο τους έκ της Αίτνης ίππεις: ούτοι γαρ έν άρχη της τυραννίδος

έκπεπτωκότες ψκουν τοῦτο τὸ φρούριον.

8. Διονύσιος δέ καταπλαγείς την απόστασιν των Συρακοσίων την μέν πολιορκίαν έλυσε, είς δε τάς Συρακούσας ήπείνετο, σπεύδων καταλαβέσθαι την πόλιν. οδ φυγόντος οί την απόστασιν ποιησάμενοι στρατηγούς είλοντο τούς αποκτείναντας τον επαργον, και παραλαβόντες τους έξ Αίτνης ίππεις έν ταίς καλουμέναις 'Επιπολαίς αντεστρατοπέδευσαν τω τυράννω, και διέκλεισαν αὐτὸν της ἐπὶ τὴν 2 χώραν εξόδου. εὐθὺς δὲ πρός τε Μεσσηνίους καὶ Ρηγίνους πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν, δεόμενοι κατά θάλατταν συναντιλαβέσθαι της έλευθερίας είώθεισαν' γάρ αί πόλεις αυται κατ' έκεινον τον καιρον τριήρεις πληρούν ούκ ελάττους ογδοήκοντα. ας τότε τοις Συρακοσίοις αι πόλεις απέστειλαν. 3 σπεύδουσαι συνεπιλαβέσθαι της έλευθερίας. Επεκήρυξαν δέ και χρημάτων πλήθος τοις άνελουσι του τύραννον, και τοις μεταβαλομένοις των ξένων έπηγγείλαντο μεταδώσειν της πολιτείας. κατεσκεύασαν δέ και μηχανήματα, δι' ων τά τείχη σαλεύοντες έξελουσι, και προσέβαλλον καθ' ήμέραν τη Νήσω, καὶ τοὺς μεταβαλλομένους τῶν ξένων φιλανθρώπως απεδέχοντο.

Διονύσιος δε τής είς την χώραν εξόδου διακεκλεισμένος και ύπο των μισθοφόρων εγκαταλειπόμενος, συνήγαγε τους φίλους βουλευσόμενος περί
των ενεστώτων ουτω γαρ τελέως απήλπιστο τα
τής δυναστείας, ώστε ου ζητείν αυτον πως κατα-

to the citizens to strike for their freedom, sent for the 604 a.c. cavalry from Aetne; for the cavalry, who had been banished at the beginning of the tyranny, occupied

this outpost.

8. Dionysius, terror-stricken at the revolt of the Syracusans, broke off the siege and hastened to Syracuse, being eager to secure the city. Upon his flight those who had revolted chose as generals the men who had slain the commander, and gathering to their number the cavalry from Actne, they pitched a camp facing the tyrant on the height called Epipolae, and blocked his passage to the countryside. And they at once dispatched ambassadors to the Messenians and the Rhegians, urging these people to join in the bid for freedom by action at sea; for it had been the practice of these cities at this time to man no less than eighty triremes. These triremes the cities dispatched at that time to the Syracusans, being eager to support them in the cause of freedom. The revolters also proclaimed a large reward to any who would slay the tyrant and promised citizenship to any mercenaries who would come over to them. also constructed engines of war with which to shatter and destroy the walls, launched daily assaults upon the Island, and kindly received any of the mercenaries who came over to them.

Dionysius, being shut off as he now was from access to the countryside and constantly being abandoned by the mercenaries, gathered together his friends to counsel with them on the situation; for he had so completely despaired of maintaining his tyrannical power that he no longer was studying how to defeat

So Reiske τ τίωθασω.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> So Hertlein : ἐξέλωσι.

πολεμήση τους Συρακοσίους, άλλα ποίον υπομείνας θάνατον μή παντελώς άδοξον ποιήση την κατάλυσιν 5 της αργής. "Ελωρις μέν ούν, είς των φίλων, ώς δ' ένιοι φασιν, ό ποιητός πατήρ, είπεν αὐτῶ, διότι καλον εντάφιον έστιν ή τυραννίς. Πολύξενος δε δ κηδεστής απεφήνατο δείν λαβόντα τον οξύτατον ίππου είς την των Καρχηδονίων επικράτειαν άφιππευσαι πρός τους Καμπανούς τούτους γάρ Ἰμίλκων άπελελοίπει φυλακής ένεκα των κατά Σικελίαν τόπων Φίλιστος δ' ό μετά ταυτα τὰς ιστυρίας συνταξάμενος, άντειπών τω Πολυξένω, προσήκειν έφησεν ούκ έφ' ιππου θέοντος έκπηδαν έκ τής τυραννίδος, άλλα του σκέλους έλκόμενον εκπίπτειν. 6 & προσσχών ό Διονύσιος έκρινε παν ύπομείναι πρότερον ή την δυναστείαν εκλιπείν εκουσίως. διόπερ άποστείλας πρέσβεις πρός τους άφεστηκότας, τούτους μεν παρεκάλει δοῦναι τὴν εξουσίαν αὐτῶ μετά τῶν ιδίων ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, πρός δέ τούς Καμπανούς λάθρα διαπεμψάμενος ωμολόγησεν αθτοῖς δώσειν χρήματα όσα αν αλτήσωσιν είς την πολιορκίαν.

9. Τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων οἱ μὲν Συρακόσιοι τὴν ἐξουσίαν δόντες τῷ τυράννῳ μετὰ πέντε νεῶν ἀποπλεῖν, ραθυμότεροι καθειστήκεσαν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἰππεῖς ἀπέλυσαν οὐδὲν χρησίμους ὅντας πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν, τῶν δὲ πεζῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐξήεσαν ὡς ἤδη καταλελυμένης τῆς τυραννίδος. οἱ δὲ Καμπανοὶ ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις

So Bekker: καταπολεμήσου.
 ποιητός Westelling: ποιητής.
 δεῦν after ἔφησεν deleted by Vogel.

#### BOOK XIV. 8. 4-9. 2

the Syracusans but rather how to meet death in such 404 s.c. a way as to end his rule not altogether ingloriously. Now Heloris, one of his friends, or, as some say, his adopted father, declared to him, "Tyranny is a fair winding-sheet "; but Polyxenus, his brother-in-law, advised him to use his swiftest horse and ride off into the domain of the Carthaginians to the Campanians. whom Himilton had left behind to guard the districts of Sicily. Philistus, however, who composed his history after these events, declared in opposition to Polyxenus that it was not fitting to dash from the tyranny on a galloping horse but to be east out, dragged by the leg.2 Dionysius agreed with Philistus and decided to submit to anything rather than abandon the throne of his free will. Consequently he sent ambassadors to those in revolt and urged them to allow him and his companions to leave the city, while he secretly dispatched messengers to the Campanians and promised them any price they should ask for the duration of the siege.

9. After the events we have described the Syracusans, having given the tyrant permission to sail away with five ships, took matters with rather less concern; the cavalry, since they were of no use in the siege, they discharged, while as for the infantry, most of them roved off into the countryside, assuming that the tyranny was already at an end. The Campanians, being elated at the promises they had

1 Cp. Plutarch, Dion. S5. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Béorros Rhodoman : Bélorros.

For moliophian Vogel suggests immouplan.

So Stephanus: padouprepor.

<sup>7</sup> inners added by Reiske.

<sup>\*</sup> So Reiske, enefficaux L, arrefficaux cet.

μετεωρισθέντες το μέν πρώτον επ' 'Αγύριον παρεγενήθησαν, εκεί δε τήν αποσκευήν "Αγυρι παραθέμενοι τῷ δυναστεύοντι τῆς πόλεως εξώρμησαν ἐπὶ Συρακούσας εὕζωνοι, τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὅντες ἱππεῖς 3 χίλιοι διακόσιοι. ταχὰ δε διανύσαντες τὴν όδον ἀπροσδοκήτως ἐπεφάνησαν τοῖς Συρακοσίοις, καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀνελόντες εἰσεβιάσαντο' πρὸς τὸν Διονύσιον. κατέπλευσαν δε καὶ τριακόσιοι μισθοφόροι τῷ τυράννῳ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν, ιὅστε 4 αὐτὸν ἀνακῦψαι ταῖς ἐλπίσιν. οἱ δε Συρακόσιοι

αύτον άνακυψαι ταις εκπισιν. οι σε Δυρακοσιοι πάλιν τής δυναστείας Ισχυροποιουμένης έστασίασαν πρός άλλήλους, τῶν μὲν ἀποφαινομένων μένεω καὶ πολιορκεῖν, τῶν δὲ λύειν τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὴν

πόλιν ἐκλιπείν.

5 "Α δὴ συνιδών ὁ Διονύσιος ἐξήγαγεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ τεταραγμένοις ἐπιπεσών ῥαδίως ἐτρέψατο περὶ τὴν Νέαν πόλιν καλουμένην. ἀνηρέθησαν μὲν οὖν οὐ πολλοί παριππεύων γὰρ ὁ Διονύσιος ἐκώλυσε φονεύειν τοὺς φεύγοντας οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι παραχρῆμα μὲν κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐσκεδάσθησαν, μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἱππεῖς εἰς Αἴτνην ἡθροίσθησαν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἑπτακισχιλίους.
6 Διονύσιος δὲ τοὺς πεσόντας τῶν Συρακοσίων θάψας

δ Διονύσιος δὲ τούς πεσόντας των Συρακοσιών σαψας ἀπέστειλε πρέσβεις εἰς Αίτνην, ἀξιών τοὺς φυγάδας διαλύεσθαι καὶ τὴν πατρίδα κατοικεῖν, διδοὺς

7 πίστιν μὴ μνησικακήσειν αὐτοῖς. τινὲς μὲν σὖν τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ἀπολελοιπότες ἡναγκάσθησαν πεισθῆναι τοῖς παρακαλουμένοις οἱ δὲ λοιποί, προφερομένων τῶν πρεσβευτῶν τὴν τοῦ Διονυσίου περὶ τὴν ταφὴν τῶν πεσόντων εὐεργεσίαν, ἔφασαν αὐτὸν αξιον εἶναι τυχεῖν τῆς ὁμοίας χάριτος, καὶ τοῖς

1 So Stephanus : eloepiságarro.

received, first of all came to Agyrium, and leaving 404 ac. their baggage there with Agyris, the ruler of the city, they set forth unencumbered for Syracuse, being in number twelve hundred cavalry. Completing the journey in quick time, they came upon the Syracusans unexpectedly and, slaying many of them, they forced their way through to Dionysius. At this same time three hundred mercenaries had also landed to aid the tyrant, so that his hopes revived. The Syracusans, as the despotic power again gathered strength, were at odds among themselves, some maintaining that they should remain and continue the siege and others that they should disband their forces and abandon

the city.

As soon as Dionysius learned of this, he led his army out against them, and falling on them while they were disordered, he easily routed them near the New City, as it is called. Not many of them, however, were slain, since Dionysius, riding among his men, stopped them from killing the fugitives. The Syracusans were forthwith scattered over the countryside, but a little later more than seven thousand of them were gathered with the cavalry at Aetnê. Dionysius, after burying the Syracusans who had fallen, dispatched ambassadors to Aetne, asking the exiles to accept terms and return to their native land, and giving his pledged word that he would not bear enmity against them. Now certain of them, who had left behind children and wives, felt compelled to accept the offer; but the rest replied, when the ambassadors cited the benefaction Dionysius had performed in the burial of the dead, that he deserved the same favour, and they prayed to the gods that

θεοῖς ηὔχοντο τὴν ταχίστην αὐτὸν ἐπιδεῖν ταύτης 8 τυγχάνοντα. οὕτοι μὲν οὖν οὐδενὶ τρόπω βουληθέντες πιστεῦσαι τῷ τυράννω κατέμειναν ἐν Αἴτνη, καιρὸν ἐπιτηροῦντες κατ' αὐτοῦ· Διονύσιος δὲ τοῖς μὲν κατελθοῦσι φυγάσι φιλανθρώπως ἐχρήσατο, βουλόμενος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προτρέψασθαι κατελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, τοὺς δὲ Καμπανοὺς ταῖς καθηκούσαις δωρεαῖς τιμήσας ἐξαπέστειλεν ἐκ τῆς 9 πόλεως, ὑφορώμενος αὐτῶν τὴν ἀβεβαιότητα. οἱ πορευθέντες εἰς "Εντελλαν, καὶ πείσαντες τοὺς ἐντῆ πόλει λαβεῖν ἐαυτοὺς συνοίκους, νυκτὸς ἐπιθέμενοι τοὺς μὲν ἡβῶντας ἀπέσφαιξαν, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας τῶν παρασπονδηθέντων γήμιιντες κατέσχον τὴν πόλιν.

10. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Λακεδαιμόνιοι καταλελυκότες τὸν Πελοποννησιακὸν πόλεμον ὑμολογουμένην ἔσχον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὴν κατὰ γῆν καὶ τὴν κατὰ γῆν καὶ τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν. καταστήσαντες δὲ ναυαρχον Λύσανδρον, τούτω προσέταξαν ἐπιπορεύεσθαι τὰς πόλεις, ἐν ἐκάστη τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς καλουμένους ἀρμοστὰς ἐγκαθιστάντα ταῖς γὰρ δημοκρατίαις προσκόπτοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δι' ἀλιγαρχίας 2 ἐβούλοντο τὰς πόλεις διοικεῖσθαι. ἔταξαν δὲ καὶ φόρους τοῖς καταπολεμηθεῖσι, καὶ τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον οὺ χρώμενοι νομίσματι τότε συνήθροιζον ἐκ τοῦ φόρου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν πλείω τῶν χιλίων

ταλάντων.

Έπεὶ δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πράγματα κατὰ τὴν ιδίων ἀξίων διώκησων, ἀπέστειλων "Αριστον ἄνδρα τῶν ἐπιφανῶν εἰς Συρακούσως, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Governors from Sparta. After Acgospotami Lysander

they might, the sooner the better, see him obtain it. 404 no. These men, accordingly, who would by no means put any trust in the tyrant, remained in Aetne, watching for an opportunity against him. Dionysius treated with humanity the exiles who returned, wishing to encourage the rest to return to their native land too. To the Campanians he awarded the gifts that were due and then dispatched them from the city, having regard to their fickleness. These made their way to Entella and persuaded the men of the city to receive them as fellow-inhabitants; then they fell upon them by night, slew the men of military age, married the wives of the men with whom they had broken faith, and possessed themselves of the city.

10. In Greece the Lacedaemonians, now that they had brought the Peloponnesian War to an end, held the supremacy by common acknowledgement both on land and on sea. Appointing Lysander admiral, they ordered him to visit the cities and set up in each the magistrates they call harmosts 1; for the Lacedaemonians, who had a dislike for the democracies, wished the cities to have oligarchic governments. They also levied tribute upon the peoples they had conquered, and although before this time they had not used coined money, they now collected yearly from

the tribute more than a thousand talents.

When the Lacedaemonians had settled the affairs of Greece to their own taste, they dispatched Aristus, one of their distinguished men, to Syracuse, ostensibly

had appointed boards of ten citizens in each conquered city to form an oligarchic government. See Xenophon, Holl. 3. 4. 2.

Diodorus is the only authority for such a figure, which

can scarcely be credited.

3 Named Aretes in chap. 70. 3.

προσποιούμενοι καταλύειν την δυναστείαν, τη δ' άληθεία σπεύδοντες αὐξησαι την τυραννίδα ήλπιζον γάρ συγκατασκευάζοντες την άρχην υπήκοον έξειν τὸν Διονύσιον διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας. ὁ δ' "Αριστος καταπλεύσας εἰς Συρακούσας καὶ τῷ τυράννω λάθρα περί τούτων διαλεχθείς, τούς τε Συρακοσίους ανασείων και την ελευθερίαν αποκαταστήσειν επαγγειλάμενος, Νικοτέλην μεν τον Κορίνθιον άνείλεν άφηγούμενον των Συρακοσίων, τους δε πιστεύσαντας προδούς τον μέν τύραννον ζοχυρόν κατέστησε, δια δε της πράξεως ταύτης ασχημονείν 4 ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν ἄμα καὶ τὴν πατρίδα. Διονύσιος δέ τους Συρακοσίους έπι τον θερισμον αποστείλας επήλθε τὰς οἰκίας, καὶ τὰ μέν δπλα πάντων ἀφείλετο, μετά δε ταῦθ' ετερον τεῖχος ψκοδόμει περί την ακρόπολιν, και ναθς τε κατεσκευάζετο, συνήγε δέ και μισθοφόρων πλήθος, και τά λοιπά παρεσκευάζετο πρός την ασφάλειαν της τυραννίδος, ώς αν έργοις ήδη πείραν είληφως ότι παν ύπομένουσιν οί Συρακόσιοι χάριν του μή δουλεύειν.

11. Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων Φαρνάβαζος δ Δαρείου τοῦ βασιλέως σατράπης 'Αλκιβιάδην τὸν 'Αθηναῖον συλλαβών ἀνεῖλε, χαρίσασθαι βουλόμενος Λακεδαιμονίοις. τοῦ δ' Ἑφόρου δι' ἄλλας αἰτίας ἐπιβουλευθῆναι γεγραφότος, οὐκ ἄχρηστον εἶναι νομίζω παραθεῖναι τὴν παραδοθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ 2 συγγραφέως ἐπιβουλὴν κατ' 'Αλκιβιάδου. φησὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ἐπτακαιδεκάτην βίβλον Κῦρον μὲν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους λάθρα παρασκευάζεσθαι ἄμα πολεμεῖν πρὸς 'Αρταξέρξην τὸν ἀδελφόν, 'Αλκιβιάδην δὲ διά τινων αἰσθόμενον τὴν Κύρου προ-

pretending that they would overthrow the govern- 104 na ment, but in truth with intent to increase the power of the tyranny; for they hoped that by helping to establish the rule of Dionysius they would obtain his ready service because of their benefactions to him. Aristus, after having put ashore at Syracuse and discussed secretly with the tyrant the matters we have mentioned, kept stirring up the Syraeusans and promised to restore their liberty; then he slew Nicoteles the Corinthian, a leader of the Syracusans, made strong the tyrant by betraying those who put their faith in him, and by such conduct brought disgrace both upon himself and upon his native land. Dionysius, sending the Syracusans out to harvest their crops,1 entered their homes and carried off the arms of them all; after this he built a second wall about the acropolis, constructed war vessels, and also collected a great number of mercenaries; and he made every other provision to safeguard the tyranny, since he had learned by experience that the Syracusans would endure anything to escape slavery.

11. While these events were taking place, Pharnabazus, the satrap of King Darius, wishing to gratify the Lacedaemonians, seized Alcibiades the Athenian and put him to death. But since Ephorus recounts that his death was sought for other reasons, I think it not unprofitable to set forth the plot against Alcibiades as the historian has described it. He states in the Seventeenth Book that Cyrus and the Lacedaemonians were making secret plans for a joint war against Cyrus' brother Artaxerxes, and Alcibiades, learning of Cyrus' purpose from certain

Wurm suggests " sending them to the theatre."
Satrap of Phrygla and Bithynia.

αίρεσιν ελθείν πρός Φαρνάβαζον και περί τούτων έξηγήσασθαι κατά μέρος, άξιώσαι δέ αὐτον άναβάσεως όδηνον πρός Αρταξέρξην βούλεσθαι γαρ εμφανίσαι πρώτον την επιβουλήν τω βασιλεί. 3 του δε Φαρνάβαζον ακούσαντα των λόγων σφετερίσασθαι την απαγγελίαν και πέμψαι πιστούς άνδρας ύπερ τούτων τῷ βασιλεί δηλώσοντας. διδόντος δέ του Φαρναβάζου τους παραπέμψοντας είς τὰ βασίλεια, φησί τον μέν 'Αλκιβιάδην όρμησαι πρός τον σατράπην της [ αφλαγονίας, όπως δι' έκείνου ποιήσαιτο την ανάβασιν την δε Φαρνάβαζον φοβηθέντα μη περί τούτων ακούση την αλήθειαν ό βασιλεύς, επαποστείλαι τους ανελούντης 4 κατά την όδον του 'Αλκιβιάδην. τους δέ καταλαβόντας αὐτου τῆς Φρυγίας ἔν τινι κώμη κατεσκηνωκότα νυκτός περιθείναι ξύλων πλήθος αναφθέντος οδυ πολλού πυρός του 'Αλκιβιάδην έπιχειρήσαι μέν αμύνεσθαι, κρατηθέντα δε ύπο τοῦ πυρός καὶ τῶν είς αὐτὸν ἀκοντιζόντων τελευτήσαι.

Περὶ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ Δημόκριτος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐτελεύτησε βιώσας ἔτη ἐνενήκοντα. Λασθένην δὲ τὸν Θηβαΐον τὸν νενικηκότα ταύτην τὴν ὀλυμπιάδα λέγεται πρὸς ἔππον ἀθλητὴν δραμόντα νικῆσαι τὸν δὲ δρόμον ἀπὸ τῆς Κορωνείας

μέχρι της Θηβαίων πόλεως γενέσθαι.

6 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ῥωμαίων φρουρούντων "Ερρουκαν πόλιν Οὐόλσκων ἐπελθόντες οἱ πολέμιοι τῆς τε πόλεως ἐκράτησαν καὶ τῶν φρουρῶν τοὺς πλείστους ἀνείλαν.

12. Των δέ κατά τουτον τον ένιαυτον πράξεων

#### BOOK XIV. 11, 2-12, 1

parties, went to Pharnabazus and told him of it in 404 n.c. detail; and he asked him for someone to conduct him on a mission to Artaxerxes, since he wished to be the first to disclose the plot to the King. But Pharnabazus, on hearing the story, usurped the function of reporter and sent trusted men to disclose the matter to the King. When Pharnabazus did not provide escorts to the capital, Ephorus continues, Alcibiades set out to the satrap of Paphlagonia in order to make the trip with his assistance; but Pharmabazus, fearing lest the King should hear the truth of the affair, sent men after Alcibiades to slay him on the road. These came upon him where he had taken shelter in a village of Phrygia, and in the night enclosed the place with a mass of fuel. When a strong fire was kindled, Alcibiades endeavoured to save himself, but came to his death from the fire and the javelins of his attackers.1

About the same time Democritus the philosopher died at the age of ninety. And Lasthenes the Theban, who was the victor in the Olympic Games of this year, won a race, we are told, against a race horse, the course being from Coroneia to the city of the

Thebans.3

In Italy the Roman garrison of Erruca, a city of the Volsei, was attacked by the enemy, who captured the city and slew most of the defenders.

12. When the events of this year had come to an 403 a.c.

A distance of about thirty miles.

Verrugo (Livy, 4, 59).

A very different account of the circumstances of the murder of Alcibiades is given by Plutarch, Alcibiades, 38. 3f.

The famous developer of the "atomic" theory.

So Reiske, Bezzel: 686v.

τέλος έχουσων 'Αθήνησι μέν ήν άρχων Εύκλείδης, έν 'Ρώμη δέ την ύπατικην άρχην διεδέξαντο χιλίαρχοι τέσσαρες, Πόπλιος Κορνήλιος, Νουμέριος 2 Φάβιος, Λεύκιος Οὐαλέριος. τούτων δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρειληφότων Βυζάντιοι πρός μεν άλλήλους στασιάζοντες, πρός δε τούς παροικούντας Θράκας πόλεμον έχοντες, κακώς απήλλαττον ου δυνάμενοι δέ λύσιν πορίσασθαι της πρός αλλήλους φιλονεικίας, στρατηγον ήτήσαντο παρά Λακεδαιμονίων. έξέπεμψαν ούν οι Σπαρτιάται Κλέαρχον καταστή-3 σοντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν οῦτος δὲ πιστευθείς περί των δλων και μισθοφόρους πολλούς άθροίσας, ούκέτι προστάτης ήν, άλλα τύραννος, και το μέν πρώτον τους άρχοντας αυτών επί τινι θυσία καλέσας άνείλε, μετά δε ταθτα άναρχίας ούσης εν τη πόλει, τριάκοντα μέν τους δνομαζομένους Βυζαντίους1 συνήρπασε καὶ περιθείς κάλων άπεστραγγάλισε. πάντων δε τών διαφθαρέντων τας οὐσίας σφετερισάμενος επελέγετο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς εὐπόρους, καὶ ψευδεῖς αἰτίας ἐπιρρίπτων οθς μέν ἀπέκτεινεν ους δε εφυγάδευσε. πολλών δε χρημάτων κυριεύσας καὶ μισθοφόρων ἀθροίσας πλήθος τὰ κατὰ τὴν δυναστείαν ήσφαλίσατο.

Διαβοηθείσης δὲ τῆς κατὰ τὸν τύραννον ὢμότητός τε καὶ δυνάμεως, Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις τοὺς πείσοντας ἀποθέσθαι τὴν δυναστείαν οὐ προσέχοντος δὲ τοῖς ἀξιουμένοις ἔπεμψαν δύναμιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ στρατηγὸν Πανθοίδαν. οὖ τὴν ἔφοδον αἰσθόμενος

<sup>1</sup> Buzarrious] Bountous AHL.

end, Eucleides was archon in Athens, and in Rome 100 n.c. four military tribunes succeeded to the consular magistracy, Publius Cornelius, Numerius Fabius, and Lucius Valerius.1 After these magistrates had taken office, the Byzantines were in serious difficulties both because of factional strife and of a war that they were waging with the neighbouring Thracians; and since they were unable to devise a settlement of their mutual differences, they asked the Lacedaemonians for a general. The Spartans, accordingly, sent them Clearehus to bring order to the affairs of the city: and he, after being entrusted with supreme authority, and having gathered a large body of mercenaries, was no longer their president but their tyrant. First of all, he invited their chief magistrates to attend a festival of some kind and put them to death, and after this, since there was no government in the city, he scized a group of thirty prominent Byzantines, put a cord about their necks, and strangled them to death. After appropriating for himself the property of those he had slain, he also picked out the wealthy among the rest of the citizens, and launching false charges against them, he put some to death and drove others into exile. Having thus acquired a large amount of money and assembled a great body of mercenaries, he made his tyrannical power secure.

When the cruelty and power of the tyrant became noised abroad, the Lacedaemonians first of all dispatched ambassadors to him to prevail upon him to lay down his tyrannical power, but when he paid no heed to their requests, they sent an army against him under the command of Panthocdas. Clearchus.

<sup>1</sup> Most of the manuscripts add " and Terentius Maximus."

ό Κλέαρχος είς Σηλυμβρίαν μετήγαγε την δύναμιν, κύριος ων και ταύτης της πόλεως πολλά γάρ είς τούς Βυζαντίους ήμαρτηκώς ύπελάμβανεν ου μόνον τούς Λακεδαιμονίους άλλά και τούς έν τῆ πόλει ■ πολεμίους ἔξειν. διόπερ ἐκ Σηλυμβρίας κρίνας ασφαλέστερον διαπολεμήσειν, τά τε χρήματα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν μετέστησεν. ὡς δ' ἐπύθετο τοὺς Λακε-δαιμονίους ἐγγὺς ὅντας, ἀπήντησεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ περὶ τὸν καλούμενον Πόρον συνῆψε μάχην τοῖς 7 περὶ τὸν Πανθοίδαν. γενομένου δ' ἐπὶ πολὺν γρόνον τοῦ κινδύνου, καὶ λαμπρώς άγωνισαμένων των Λακεδαιμονίων, οί του τυράννου διεφθάρησαν. δ δε Κλέαρχος το μεν πρώτον μετ' δλίγων συγκλεισθείς είς Σηλυμβρίαν επολιορκείτο μετά δέ ταθτα φοβηθείς διέδρα νυκτός και διέπλευσεν είς την 'Ιωνίαν έκει δ' είς συνήθειαν ελθών Κύρω τώ 8 του βασιλέως άδελφω δυνάμεων άφηγήσατο. ό γάρ Κύρος, ἄρχων ἀποδεδειγμένος τών ἐπὶ θαλάττη σατραπειών και φρονήματος πλήρης ών, διενοείτο 9 στραπεύειν ἐπὶ τον άδελφον 'Αρταξέρξην. όρων οὖν τὸν Κλέαρχον τόλμαν ἔχοντα καὶ θράσος πρόχειρον, εδωκεν αὐτῷ χρήματα καὶ προσέταξεν ώς πλείστους ξενολογείν, νομίζων εύθετον έξειν συνανωνιστήν τοις ύπ' αὐτοῦ τολμωμένοις.

13. Λύσανδρος δὲ ὁ Σπαρτιάτης ἐπειδὴ πάσας τὰς ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίους πόλεις διώκησε κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐφόρων γνώμην, ἐν αίς μὲν δεκαδαρχίας, ἐν αίς δὸ ἀλιγαρχίας καταστήσας, περίβλεπτος ἡν ἐν

<sup>1</sup> The Aegean Sea. Xenophon (Anab. 1. 1. 2) states that

on learning of his approach, transferred his army to 400 m.c. Solymbria, being master also of this city, for he assumed that after the many crimes he had committed against the Byzantines, he would have as enemies not only the Lacedaemonians, but also the inhabitants of the city. Consequently, having decided that Selymbria would be a safer base for the war, he removed both his treasure and his army to that place. When he learned that the Lacedaemonians were close at hand, he advanced to meet them and ioined battle with the troops of Panthoedas at the place called Porus. The struggle lasted a long while, but the Lacedaemonians fought splendidly and the forces of the tyrant were destroyed. Clearchus with a few companions was at first shut up in Selymbria and besieged there, but later he was fearful and slipped away by night, and crossed over to Ionia. where he became intimate with Cyrus, the brother of the Persian King, and won command of his troops. For Cyrus, who had been appointed supreme commander of the satrapies lying on the sea 1 and was afire with ambition, was planning to lead an army against his brother Artaxerxes. Observing, therefore, that Clearchus possessed daring and a prompt boldness, he supplied him with funds and instructed him to enroll as many mercenaries as he could, believing that he would have in Clearchus an apt partner for his hold undertakings.

13. Lysander the Spartan, after he had introduced governments in all the cities under the Lacedae-monimus in accordance with the will of the ephors, establishing a rule of ten men in some and oligarchies

he had been made "general of all the forces that muster in the plain of Castolus."

τη Σπάρτη. καταλύσας γάρ του Πελοπουνησιακου πόλεμον τη πατρίδι περιτεθεικώς ήν την ήγεμονίαν δμολογουμένην και την κατά γην και την κατά 2 θάλατταν. διόπερ επί τούτοις πεφρονηματισμένος διενοείτο καταλύσαι την των 'Ηρακλειδών βασιλείαν και κοινήν έκ πάντων Σπαρτιατών ποιήσαι την αιρεσιν των βασιλέων ήλπιζε γάρ είς έαυτον τάχιστα την άρχην ήξειν δια το μεγίστας και καλ-3 λίστας πράξεις κατειργάσθαι. θεωρών δέ τούς Λακεδαιμονίους μάλιστα τοῖς μαντείοις προσέχοντας, επεγείρησε την εν Δελφοίς προφήτιν διαφθείραι χρήμασιν ενόμιζε γάρ, εὶ χρησμον λάβοι σύμμαχον ταις ίδιαις επιβολαίς, ραδίως άξειν επί τέλος την 4 προαίρεσων. έπεὶ δὲ παμπληθη γρήματα τοῖς περὶ τό μαντείον διατρίβουσιν ύπισχνούμενος ούκ έπειθε, ταις εν Δωδώνη περί το μαντείον ούσαις ιερείαις προσήνεγκε λόγους περί των αὐτων διά τινος Φερεκράτους, 'Απολλωνιάτου μέν το γένος, έχουτος δε συνήθειαν πρός τους περί το ίερον διατρί-

βοντας.

δ Οὐδὰν δὰ πρᾶξαι δυνάμενος ἀξεδήμησεν εἰς
Κυρήνην, πρόφασιν μὰν ώς εὐχὰς ἀποδιδοὺς "Αμμωνι, τῆ δ' ἀληθεία διαφθεῖραι βουλόμενος τὸ
μαντεῖον ἀκόμισε δὰ καὶ χρημάτων πλῆθος, δι'
ὧν ἥλπιζε τοὺς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν διατρίβοντας πεῖσαι.

6 καὶ γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν περὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς τόπους Λίβυς ξένος ἦν αὐτῷ πατρικός, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Λυσάνδρου συνέβαινεν ὀνομάζεσθαι Λίβυν ἀπὸ τῆς

So Idindorf: ηfew.
χρόνον after παμπληθη deleted by Reiske.

in others, was the cynosure of Sparta. For by bring- 403 no. ing the Peloponnesian War to an end he had bestowed upon his native land the supreme power, acknowledged by all, both on land and on sea. Consequently, having become filled with pride on this account, he conceived the idea of putting an end to the kingship of the Heracleidae 1 and making every Spartan eligible to election as king; for he hoped that the kingship would very soon come to him because of his achievements, which were very great and glorious. Knowing that the Lacedaemonians gave very great heed to the responses of oracles, he attempted to bribe the prophetess in Delphi, since he believed that, if he should receive an oracular response favourable to the designs he entertained, he should easily carry his project to a successful end. But when he could not win over the attendants of the oracle, despite the large sum he promised them, he opened negotiations on the same matter with the priestesses of the oracle of Dodone, through a certain Pherecrates, who was a native of Apollonia and intimate with the attendants of the shrine.

Meeting with no success, he made a journey to Cyrene, offering as his reason payment of vows to Ammon, but actually for the purpose of bribing the oracle; and he took with him a great sum of money with which he hoped to win over the attendants of the shrine. And in fact Libys, the king of those regions, was a guest-friend of his father, and it so happened that Lysander's brother had been named Libys by reason of the friendship with the king.

<sup>a</sup> Zeus-Ammon, whose shrine was in the Oasis of Siwah.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The two lines of Spartan kings claimed to be "Descendants of Heracles."

7 πρός ἐκεῖνον φιλίας. διὰ δὴ τούτου καὶ τῶν κομιζομένων χρημάτων ἐλπίσας πείσειν οὐ μόνον ἀπέτυχε τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεξέπεμψαν οἱ τοῦ μαντείου προεστῶτες πρέσβεις τοὺς κατηγορήσοντας τοῦ Λυσάνδρου περὶ τῆς τοῦ χρηστηρίου διαφθορᾶς. ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος παραγενηθεὶς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα κρίσεως αὐτῷ προτεθείσης ἀπελογήσατο πίθανῶς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. τότε μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ῆδεισαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περὶ τῆς τοῦ Λυσάνδρου προαιρέσεως εἰς τὸ καταλῦσαι τοὺς ἀφ΄ Ἡρακλέους βασιλεῖς μετὰ δέ τινα χρόνον τελευτήσαιτος αὐτοῦ, καὶ τινων χρηματισμῶν ζητουμένων κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν, εὖρον λόγον γεγραμμένον πολυτελῶς, ὑν ἐπραγματεύσατο πρὸς τὰ πλήθη, πείσων ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν πολιτῶν αἰρετοὺς γίνεσθαι βασιλεῖς.

14. Διονύσιος δ' δ τῶν Συρακοσίων τύρμνος ἐπειδὴ τὴν πρὸς Καρχηδονίους εἰρήνην ἐποιήσατο, τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν στάσεων ἀπήλλακτο, τὰς ὁμόρους τῶν Χαλκιδέων πόλες ἔσπευδε προσαγαγέσθαι αὐται δ' ἦσαν Νάξος, Κατάνη, Λεοντῖνοι. 2 τούτων δ' ἐπεθύμει κυριεῦσαι διὰ τὸ συνορίζειν αὐτὰς τῆ Συρακούση καὶ πολλὰς ἀφορμὰς ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν αὕξησιν τῆς δυναστείας. πρῶτον μὲν οῦν τῆ Λίτνη προσστρατοπεδεύσας παρέλαβε τὸ φρούριον, τῶν φυγάδων αὐκ ὅντων ἀξιομάχων πρὸς 3 τηλικαύτην δύναμιν μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ Λεοντίνους ἀναζεύξας ἐγγὺς τῆς πόλεως κατεστρατοπέδευσε παρὰ τὸν Τηρίαν ποταμόν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκτάξας τὴν δύναμιν ἐξαπέστειλε κήρυκα πρὸς τοὺς Λεοντίνους, κελεύων παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν καὶ

πολυτελώς] φιλοτίμως οτ έπιμελώς Βεππεί.
 So Vogel: στρατεύσας.

## BOOK XIV. 18, 6-14, 3

With the king's help, then, and the money he 608 a.c. brought, he hoped to win them, but not only did he fail of his design, but the overseers of the oracle sent ambassadors to lay charges against Lysander for his effort to bribe the oracle. When Lysander arrived at Lacedaemon, a trial was proposed, but he presented a persuasive defence of his conduct. Now at that time the Lacedaemonians knew nothing of Lysander's purpose to abolish the kings in line of descent from Heracles; but some time later, after his death, when some documents were being searched for in his house, they found a speech, composed at great expense, which he had prepared to deliver to the people, to persuade them that the kings should be elected from all the citizens.

14. Dionysius, the tyrant of the Syracusans, after he had made peace with the Carthaginians and had got free of the uprisings in the city, was eager to attach to himself the neighbouring cities of the Chalcidians, anamely, Naxos, Catane, and Leontini. He was eager to be lord of them because they lay on the borders of Syracuse and possessed many advantages for further increase of his tyrannical power. First of all, then, he encamped near Actne and won the fortress, the exiles there being no match for an army of such size; and after this he advanced to Leontini and pitched his eamp near the city along the river Teria. Then he at first led out his army in battle-order and dispatched a herald to the Leontines, commanding them to surrender the city and

<sup>1</sup> Or more likely, "composed with great care"; see critical note.

4 νομίζων τῷ φόβῳ καταπλῆξαι τοὺς ἔνδον οὐ προσεχόντων δὲ τῶν Λεοντίνων, ἀλλὰ πάντα παρεσκευασμένων τὰ πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν, Διονύσιος οὐκ ἔχων μηχανήματα τὴν μὲν πολιορκίαν κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἀπέγνω, τὴν δὲ χώραν ἄπασαν ἐλεηλά-τησεν. ἐκείθεν δ' ἀνέζευξεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Σικελούς, προσποιούμενος τὸν πρὸς τούτους πόλεμον ἐπαναι-

προσποιούμενος τον πρός τούτους πόλεμον έπαναιρείσθαι πρός το τούς Καταναίους και Ναξίους ραθυμοτέρους γενέσθαι περί την της πόλεως φυ-

ο λακήν. διατρίβων δε περί την Ευναν 'Λείμνηστον του 'Ευναίον επεισεν επιθέσθαι τυραννίδι, συνεπι-

7 λήψεσθαι τῆς προθέσεως ἐπαγγελλάμενος. κρατήσαντος δ' ἐκείνου τῆς ἐπιβολῆς καὶ τὰν Διονύσιον οὐκ εἰσαγαγόντος εἰς τὴν πόλιν, διοργισθεὶς μετεβάλετο καὶ τοὺς Ἐνναίους παρεκάλει καταλύειν τὸν τύραννον. ὧν συνδραμόντων εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀντιποιουμένων,

8 πλήρης ἡν ἡ πόλις ταραχής. Διονύσιος δὲ πυθόμενος τὴν οτάσιν ἀνέλαβε τοὺς ψιλοὺς¹ καὶ ταχέως διά τινος ἐρήμου τόπου³ παρεισέπεσεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὸν μὲν 'Αεἰμνηστον συλλαβὼν παρέδωκε τοῖς 'Ενναίοις πρὸς τὴν τιμωρίαν, αὐτὸς δ' οὐδὲν ἀδικήσας ἀπῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. τοῦτο δ' ἔπραξεν οὐχ οὖτως τοῦ δικαίου φροντίζων ὡς βουλόμενος προτρέψασθαι τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις αὐτῷ πιστεύειν.

15. Ἐκείθεν δ' ἀναζεύξας τὴν τῶν Ἑρβιταίων πόλιν πορθεῖν ἐπεχείρησεν οὐδὲν δὲ πράσσων πρὸς μὲν τούτους εἰρήνην ἐποιήσατο, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν ἤγαγεν ἐπὶ Κατάνην· 'Αρκεσίλαος γὰρ στρατηγὸς ὧν τῶν Καταναίων ἐπηγγέλλετο αὐτῷ προδώσειν

¹ So Hertlein: φίλους.
¹ ἐλθών after τόπου omitted JK, Vogel.

believing that he had struck terror into the inhabi- 409 n.o. tants. But when the Leontines paid no attention to him and had made every preparation to withstand a siege, Dionysius, having no engines of war, gave up the siege for the time being, but plundered their entire territory. From there he set out against the Siceli, pretending that he was engaging in war against them in order that the Catanians and the Naxians might become slacker in the defence of their cities. And while he was tarrying in the neighbourhood of Enna, he persuaded Acimnestus, a native of the city, to make a bid for tyranny, promising to aid him in the undertaking. But when Acimnestus had succeeded in his design and then did not admit Dionysius into the city, Dionysius in anger changed sides and urged the Ennacans to overthrow the tyrant. These streamed into the market-place with their arms, contending for their freedom, and the city was filled with tumult. Dionysius, on learning of the strife, took his light-armed troops, speedily broke through an unoccupied place into the city, seized Acimnestus, and handed him over to the Ennaeans to be punished. He himself, refraining from all injustice, departed from the city. This he did, not so much because he had regard for right as because he wanted to encourage the other cities to put faith in him.

15. From Enna Dionysius set out to the city of the Herbitaeans and attempted to ravage it. But accomplishing nothing, he made peace with them and led his army to Catane, for Arcesilans, the general of the Catanians, had offered to betray the city to him.

την πόλιν. διόπερ ύπο τούτου περί μέσας νύκτας παρεισαχθείς κύριος της Κατάνης εγένετο. άφελόμενος δε των πολιτών τὰ οπλα, φρουράν εν αὐτή 2 κατέστησεν ίκανήν. μετά δέ ταθτα Προκλής ο των Ναξίων άφηγούμενος ἐπαγγελιων μεγέθει πεισθείς παρέδωκε την πατρίδα τώ Διονυσίω. δς τας δωρεάς αποδούς τω προδιδόντι και τούς συνγενείς αὐτω χαρισάμενος την πόλιν εξηνδραποδίσατο, και τας μεν κτήσεις εφήκε τοις στρατιώταις διαρπάσαι, τὰ δὲ τείχη καὶ τὰς οἰκίας κατέσκαψεν. 3 παραπλησίως δε και τοις Καταναίοις χρησάμενος έλαφυροπώλησε τους αίγμαλώτους έν Συρακούσαις. την μέν οδυ τών Ναξίων χώραν Σικελοίς τοις όμορούσω έδωρήσατο, τοις δέ Καμπανοίς την πόλιν 4 των Καταναίων οικητήριον έδωκεν. μετά δε ταθτα έπὶ Λεοντίνους στρατεύσας άπάση τη δυνάμει την πόλιν περιεστρατοπέδευσε, και πρός τους ένδον διαπρεσβευσάμενος εκέλευσεν αύτους παραδιδόναι την πόλιν και μετέχειν της έν Συρακούσαις πολιτείας. οι δε Λεοντίνοι, βοήθειαν μεν οὐδεμίαν έξειν προσδοκώντες, τὰς δε Ναξίων καὶ Καταναίων συμφοράς ἀναλογιζόμενοι, κατεπλήττοντο φοβούμενοι μή τοις αὐτοις περιπέσωσι δυστυχήμασιν. διόπερ είξαντες τῷ καιρῷ συνεχώρησαν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπόντες εἰς Συρακούσας μετώκησαν.
16. ᾿Αρχωνίδης δ᾽ ὁ τῆς Ἑρβίτης ἐπιστάτης,

16. 'Αρχωνίδης δ' ό της 'Ερβίτης επιστάτης, έπειδη προς Διονύσιον εξρήνην ό δήμος ό τῶν 'Ερβιταίων συνέθετο, διενοεῖτο κτίσαι πόλιν. εξχε γὰρ μισθοφόρους τε πλείους καὶ σύμμικτον ὅχλον, ὅς τῷ πρὸς Διονύσιον πολέμω συνέδραμεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν πολλοὶ δὰ καὶ τῶν ἀπόρων' 'Ερβιταίων ἐπηγ-

<sup>1</sup> των απόρων Post : των από των.

Consequently, being admitted by Arcesilaüs about 403 m.c. midnight, he became master of Catane. After taking their arms from the citizens, he placed an adequate garrison in the city. After this Procles, the commander of the Naxians, on being won over by great promises, delivered over his native city to Dionysius, who, after paying the promised gifts to the traitor and granting him his kinsmen, sold the inhabitants into slavery, turned their property over to the soldiers to plunder, and razed the walls and the dwellings. He also meted out a similar treatment to the Catanians. selling the captives he took as booty in Syracuse. Now the territory of the Naxians he gave as a present to the neighbouring Siceli and granted to the Campanians the city of the Catanians as their dwellingplace. After this he advanced to Lcontini with his entire armed strength and laid siege to the city, and sending ambassadors to the inhabitants, he ordered them to hand over their city and enjoy citizenship in Syracuse. The Leontines, expecting that they would receive no help and reflecting on the fate of the Naxians and Catanians, were struck with terror in fear that they would suffer the same misfortune. Consequently, yielding to the exigency of the moment, they assented to the proposal, left their city, and removed to Syracuse.

16. Archonides, the leader of Herbitë, after the citizen-body of the Herbitaeans had concluded peace with Dionysius, determined to found a city. For he had not only many mercenaries but also a mixed throng who had streamed into the city in connection with the war against Dionysius; and many of the destitute among the Herbitaeans had promised him to

2 γέλλοντο αὐτῷ κοινωνήσειν τῆς ἀποικίας. ἀναλαβὼν οὖν τὸ συνδραμὸν πλῆθος κατελάβετό τινα τῶν λόφων ὀκτὰ σταδίους ἀπέχοντα τῆς θαλάττης, ἐν ῷ πόλιν ἔκτισεν "Αλαισαν οὐσῶν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων πόλεων κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ὁμωνύμων, ' Αρχωνίδιον

8 αὐτὴν προσηγόρευσεν ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις τῆς πόλεως πολλὴν ἐπίδοσιν λαμβανούσης διά τε τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης ἐργασίας καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑπὸ 'Ρωμαίων δοθεῖσαν ἀτέλειαν, οἱ 'Λλαισῖνοι τὴν τῶν 'Ερβιταίων συγγένειαν ἀπηρνήσαντο, αἰσχρὸν ἡγούμενοι καταδεεστέρας πόλεως

4 έαυτους αποίκους νομίζεσθαι. ου μην άλλα μέχρι νύν παρ' άμφοτέραις συγγένειαι τε πλείονες διαμένουσι και τὰς κατὰ τὸ Απολλώνιον θυσίας τοις αὐτοις ἔθεσι διοικοῦσιν. τινὲς δέ φασιν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἐκτίσθαι την "Αλαισαν, καθ' ὅν καιρὸν 'Ιμίλκων τὴν πρὸς τὸν Διονύσιον εἰρήνην ἐποιήσατο.

5 Κατά δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν 'Ρωμαίοις πρὸς Βηίους' πόλεμος συνέστη διὰ τοιαύτας' αἰτίας. τότε πρώτως ἐπεψηφίσαντο 'Ρωμαΐοι τοῖς στρατιώταις καθ' ἔκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς ἐφόδια διδόναι χρήματα. ἐξεπολιόρκησαν δὲ καὶ τὴν Οὐόλσκων πόλιν, ἡ τότε μὲν "Ανξωρ ἐκαλεῖτο, νῦν δ' ὀνομάζεται Ταρρακίνη.

17. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μὲν ἦρχε Μικίων, ἐν δὲ τῆ 'Ρώμη τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἀρχὴν μετέλαβον χιλίαρχοι τρεῖς, Τίτος
Κοΐντιος καὶ Γάιος 'Ιούλιος καὶ Αὖλος Μαμίλος.
τούτων δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς λαβόντων οἱ τὸν 'Ωρωπὸν
οἰκοῦντες πρός ἀλλήλους στασιάσαντες ἐφυγάδευ2 σαν τῶν πολιτῶν τινας. οἱ δὲ φυγάδες μέχρι μέν
1 So Dindorf: συνεδρεῦον.
2 So Wesseling: Βοιούς.

# BOOK XIV. 16, 1-17, 2

join in the colony. Consequently, taking the multi- cos a.c. tude of refugees, he occupied a hill lying eight stades from the sea, on which he founded the city of Halaesa; and since there were other cities of Sicily with the same name, he called it Halaesa Archonidion after himself. When, in later times, the city grew greatly both because of the trade by sea and because the Romans exempted it from tribute, the Halaesians denied their kinship with the Herbitacans, holding it a disgrace to be deemed colonists of an inferior city. Nevertheless, up to the present time numerous ties of relationships are to be found among both peoples. and they administer their sacrifices at the Temple of Apollo with the same routine. But there are those who state that Halaesa was founded by the Carthaginians at the time when Himilcon concluded his peace with Dionysius.

In Italy a war arose between the Romans and the people of Veii for the following reasons. In this campaign the Romans voted for the first time to give annual pay to the soldiers for their service. They also reduced by siege the city of the Volsci which was called at that time Anxor but now has the name

Tarracine.

17. At the close of the year Micion was archon in 402 B.C. Athens, and in Rome three military tribunes took over the consular magistracy, Titus Quinctius, Gaius Julius, and Aulus Mamilus. After these magistrates had entered office, the inhabitants of Oropus fell into civil strife and exiled some of their citizens. For a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> There is probably a lacuna here. The "reasons" are given in Livy, 4. 58.

<sup>\*</sup> routéras | Vogel suggests rivas.

\* So Dindorf: mpérois.

τινος δι' έαυτῶν ἐπεβάλοντο κατελθεῖν, οὐ δυνάμενοι δὲ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἐπὶ τέλος ἀγαγεῖν, ἔπεισαν
τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐαυτοῖς συναποστεῖλαι δύναμιν.
3 Θηβαῖοι δὲ στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς 'Ωρωπίους
καὶ κυριεύσαντες τῆς πόλεως, μετώκισαν ἀπὸ τῆς
θαλάττης αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐπτὰ σταδίους, καὶ χρόνους
μέν τινας εἴασαν καθ' αὐτοὺς πολιτεύεσθαι, μετὰ
δὲ ταῦτα δόντες πολιτείαν τὴν χώραν Βοιωτίαν

εποιήσαντο.

Τούτων δε πραττομένων Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἄλλιι μέν πλείονα τοις 'Ηλείοις ενεκάλουν, μάλιστα δ' ὅτι Αγιν αὐτῶν τὸν βασιλέα διεκώλυσαν τῷ θεῷ θύσαι καὶ διότι τοῖς 'Ολυμπίοις Λακεδαιμονίους δ ούκ είασαν άγωνίσασθαι. διόπερ κρίναντες πρός αύτους εκφέρειν πόλεμον, δέκα πρεσβευτάς άπέστειλαν, πρώτον μέν κελεύοντες τας περιοίκους πόλεις έαν αὐτονόμους είναι, έπειτα τὰς δαπάνας τοῦ πρὸς 'Αθηναίους πολέμου κατά' τὸ ἐπιβάλλον 6 αὐτοῖς μέρος ἀπήτουν. ταῦτα δ' ἔπραττον προφάσεις αύτοις εὐλόγους καὶ πιθανάς άρχας ζητοῦντες πολέμου. οὐ προσεχόντων δὲ τῶν ἸΙλείων, άλλά καὶ προσεγκαλούντων ότι τους "Ελληνας καταδουλούνται, τον έτερον των βασιλέων Παυσανίαν επ' αὐτοὺς ἀπέστειλαν μετὰ στρατιωτῶν 7 τετρακισχιλίων. συνηκολούθουν δ' αὐτῷ πολλοί στρατιώται καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων σχεδον ἀπάντων πλήν Βοιωτών και Κορινθίων ούτοι δέ δυσ-54

#### BOOK XIV, 17, 2-7

time the exiles undertook to effect their return by 602 me. their own resources, but finding themselves unable to carry through their purpose, they persuaded the Thebans to send an army to assist them. The Thebans took the field against the Oropians, and becoming masters of the city, resettled the inhabitants some seven stades from the sea; and for some time they allowed them to have their own government, but after this they gave them Theban citizenship and

attached their territory to Bocotia.

While these events were taking place, the Lacedaemonians brought a number of charges against the Bleians, the most serious being that they had prevented Agis, their king, from offering sacrifices to the god 1 and that they had not allowed the Lacedaemonians to compete in the Olympic Games. Consequently, having decided to wage war on the Eleians, they dispatched ten ambassadors to them, ordering them, in the first place, to allow their subject cities to be independent, and after that they demanded of them their quota of the cost of the war against the Athenians. This they did in quest of specious pretexts for themselves and of plausible openings for war. When the Eleians not only paid no heed to them but even accused them besides of enslaving the Greeks, they dispatched Pausanias, the other of their two kings, against them with four thousand soldiers. He was accompanied by many soldiers also from practically all the allies excent the Bocotians and Corinthians. They, being offended

<sup>1</sup> Olympian Zeus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> \*Αγιν Reiske (Nen. Hell. 3, 2, 22): Παυσανίαν.

<sup>2</sup> So Dindorf: κελεύοντας.

<sup>3</sup> gara Rhodoman , και κατά.

χεραίνοντες τοις ύπο Λακεδαιμονίων πραττομένοις

ου μετέσχον της έπι την Τλιν στρατείας. 'Ο δ' οὖν Παυσανίας κατ' ἔφυδον τῆς 'Αρκαδίας έμβαλών είς την ΤΗλιν Λασίωνα μέν φρούριον εὐθὺς εἶλεν ἐξ ἐφόδου, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τῆς ᾿Ακρωρείας ἀγαγὼν τὸ στρατόπεδον τέτταρας πόλεις προσηγάγετο, Θραΐστον, ဪαλιον, Ἐπιτά- ὁλιον, ᾿Οποῦντα. ἐκείθεν δὲ τῆ Πύλω προσστρατοπεδεύσας εύθυς και τούτο το χωρίον παρέλαβεν, απέχου της "Πλιδος σταδίους ώς έβδομήκυστα. μετά δε ταθτ' επ' αθτήν πορευθείς την ΤΙλιν επί των πέραν του ποταμού λόφων κατεστρατοπίδευσεν. 'Ηλείοι δε μικρον έμπροσθεν ήσαν παρ' Λίτωλών είληφότες συμμάχους επιλέκτους ανδρας γιλίους, ols του περί το γυμυάσιου τόπου δεδώκεισαν φυ-10 λάττειν. τοῦ δὲ Παυσανίου τοῦτον τον τόπον πρώτον επιχειρήσαντος πολιορκείν καταπεφρονηκότως, ώς οὐδέποτ' αν τολμησάντων 'Ηλείων επεξελθείν, εξαίφνης οι τε Αιτωλοί και πολλοί των πολιτών έκχυθέντες έκ της πόλεως κατεπλήξαντο τους Λακεδαιμονίους, και σχεδόν τριάκοντα αὐτῶν κατέ-

11 βαλον. ὁ δὲ Παυσανίας τότε μεν έλυσε τὴν πολιορκίαν, μετά δὲ ταῦθ' ὁρῶν ἐργώδη τὴν ἄλωσιν οδσαν, επήει πορθών και φθείρων την χώραν ίεραν

12 ούσαν, και παμπληθείς ώφελείας ήθροισεν. ήδη δέ του χειμώνος συνεγγίζοντος κατά μέν την 'Ηλείαν ετείχισε φρούρια, και την ίκανην εν αυτοις κατέλιπε δύναμιν, αὐτός δὲ μετά τῆς ὑπολοίπου στρατιάς εν Δύμη παρεχείμασεν.

18. Κατά δε την Σικελίαν Διονύσιος ό των Σικελών τύραννος, έπειδή τὰ κατά την δυναστείαν αὐτῷ προεχώρει κατὰ γνώμην, διενοεῖτο μέν πρὸς

### BOOK XIV. 17. 7-18. 1

by the proceedings of the Lacedaemonians, took no winc.

part in the campaign against Elis.

Pausanias, then, entered Elis by way of Arcadia and straightway took the outpost of Lasion at the first assault; then, leading his army through Acroreia. he won to his side the four cities of Thraestus, Halium, Epitalium, and Opus. Moving thence, he straightway encamped near Pylus and took this place, which was about seventy stades from Elis. After this, advancing to Elis proper, he pitched his camp on the hills across the river.1 A short time before this the Eleians had not from the Actolians a thousand elite troops to help them, to whom they had given the region about the gymnasion to guard. When Pausanias first of all started to lay siege to this place, and in a careless manner, not supposing that the Eleians would ever dare to make a sortie against him, suddenly both the Actolians and many of the citizens, pouring forth from the city, struck terror into the Lacedaemonians and slew some thirty of them. At the time Pausanias raised the siege, but after this, since he saw that the city would be hard to take, he traversed its territory, laying it waste and plundering it, even though it was sacred soil, and gathered great stores of booty. Since the winter was already at hand, he built walled outposts in Elis and left adequate forces in them, and himself passed the winter with the rest of the army in Dymê.

18. In Sicily Dionysius, the tyrant of the Siceli, and m.c. since his government was making satisfactory progress, determined to make war upon the Cartha-

<sup>1</sup> The Pencus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See note 1, p. 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Έπιτάλων Wesseling : Εὐπάγιον.
<sup>2</sup> So Eichstüdt : προστρατοπεδεύσας.

Καρχηδονίους εκφέρειν πόλεμον ούπω δε ταίς παρασκευαίς ίκανὸς ών την μέν προαίρεσιν ταύτην εκρυπτε, πρός δέ τους μέλλοντας κινδύνους τα 2 χρήσιμα διώκει. είδως ούν κατά του Αττικόν πόλεμον την πόλιν εκ θαλάττης είς θάλατταν άποτετειχισμένην, ευλαβείτο μήποτε παραπλησίοις έλαττώμασι περιπεσών αποκλεισθή τής είς την χώραν εξόδου εύφυως γαρ εώρα κειμένας τας καλουμένας Έπιπολάς κατά της πόλεως των Συ-3 ρακοσίων. διόπερ τους άρχιτέκτονας παραλαβών, από της τούτων γνώμης έκρινε δείν τειχίσαι τας Επιπολάς, ή νῦν το προς τοις Εξαπύλοις υπάρχει 4 τείγος. ό γάρ τόπος ούτος τετραμμένος έστι πρός άρκτον, υπόκρημνος δέ πας και διά την τραχύτητα δυσπρόσοδος έκ των έξωθεν μερών. βουλόμενος ούν ταχείαν την κατασκευήν των τειχών γίνεσθαι, του από της χώρας σχλον ήθροισεν, έξ ου τους εύθέτους ανδρας επιλέξας είς έξακισμυρίους επι-5 διείλε τούτοις του τειχιζόμενου τόπου. καθ' έκαστον μέν οδν στάδιον αρχιτέκτονας επέστησε, κατά δε πλέθρον επέταξεν οικοδόμους, και τους τούτοις ύπηρετήσουτης έκ των ίδιωτων είς εκαστον πλάθρον διακοσίους. χωρίς δε τούτων έτεροι παμπληθείς του αριθμού ετεμνού του ανέργαστου λίθου. έξακισχίλια δε ζεύγη βοών επί τον οίκειον τόπου 6 παρεκόμιζεν. ή δε των εργαζομένων πολυχειρία πολλήν παρείχετο τοίς θεωμένοις κατάπληξιν. απάντων σπευδόντων τελέσαι το τεταγμένον. δ γαρ Διονύσιος την προθυμίαν του πλήθους έκκα-

<sup>1</sup> dieubipous after dibpas omitted FJKM, Dindorf, Vogel,

#### BOOK XIV. 18, 1-6

ginians; but being not yet sufficiently prepared, he we ac. concealed this purpose of his while making the necessary preparations for the coming encounters. And realizing that in the war with Athens the city had been blocked off by a wall that ran from the sea to the sea,1 he took care that he should never, where caught at a similar disadvantage, be cut off from contact with the countryside; for he saw that the site of Epipolae, as it is called, naturally commanded the city of the Syracusans. Sending, therefore, for his master-builders, in accord with their advice he decided that he must fortify Epipolae at the point where there stands now the Wall with the Six Gates. For this place, which faces north, is precipitous in its entirety, and so steep that access is hardly to be won from the outside. Wishing to complete the building of the walls rapidly, he gathered the peasants from the countryside, from whom he selected some sixty thousand capable men and parcelled out to them the space to be walled. For each stade he appointed a master-builder and for each plethron a mason, and the labourers from the common people assigned to the task numbered two hundred for each plethron. Besides these, other workers, a multitude in number. quarried out the rough stone, and six thousand voke of oxen brought it to the appointed place. And the united labour of so many workers struck the watchers with great amazement, since all were zealous to complete the task assigned them. For Dionysius, in order to excite the enthusiasm of the multitude.

See Book 13. 7.
 The sixth of a stade, roughly one hundred feet.

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: wapeonevaler.

λούμενος μεγάλας προέθηκε δωρεάς τοις προτερήσασι, δίχα μὲν τοῖς ἀρχιτέκτοσι, χωρὶς δὲ τοῖς οἰκοδόμοις καὶ πάλιν τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις καὶ αὐτὸς δέ μετά τῶν φίλων προσήδρευε τὰς ἡμέρας όλας τοις έργοις, επί πάντα τόπον επιφαινόμενος καί 7 τοῖς κακοπαθούσιν αἰεὶ προσλαμβάνων. καθόλου δ' ἀποθέμενος τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς βάρος ίδιώτην αύτον απεδείκνυε, και τοις βαρυτάτοις των έργων προσιστάμενος υπέμενε την αυτήν τοις άλλοις κακοπάθειαν, ώστε πολλή μεν έρις εγίνετο καὶ τοις τής ήμέρας έργοις ένωι προυετίθεσαν και μέρη των νυκτών τοσαύτη σπουδή τοις πλήθεσιν ένεπεπτώ-8 κει. διόπερ ανελπίστως εν ήμέραις είκοσι τέλος έσχε τὸ τεῖχος, τὸ μὲν μῆκος κατασκευασθὲν ἐπὶ σταδίους τριάκοντα, το δε ύψος σύμμετρον, ώστε τω τοίχω της οχυρότητος προσγενομένης ανάλωτον έκ βίας ὑπάρξαι τοῖς γὰρ πύργοις διείληπτο πυκυοίς και ύψηλοίς, έκ τε λίθων ωκοδόμητο<sup>3</sup> τετραπέδων φιλοτίμως συνειργασμένων.

19. Τοῦ δ' ἔτους τούτου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μὲν ἢν ἄρχων 'Εξαίνετος, ἐν 'Ρώμη δὲ τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἀρχὴν παρέλαβον χιλίαρχοι ἔξ, Πόπλιος Κορνήλιος, Καίσων Φάβιος, Σπόριος Ναύτιος, Γάιος Οὐαλέ-2 ριος, Μάνιος Σέργιος. περὶ δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους Κῦρος ὁ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττης σατραπειῶν ἡγούμενος διενοεῖτο μὲν πάλαι στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν 'Αρταξέρξην' ἢν γὰρ ὁ νεανίσκος φρονήματος πλήρης καὶ προθυμίαν ἔχων οὐκ ἄπρακτον εἰς τοὺς

So Dindorf: προιστάμενος.
 προσγενομένης Reiske: γενομένης.
 So Eichstidt: ψκοδύμηντο.
 So Dindorf: τεγραφόδου.

offered valuable gifts to such as finished first, special 401 a.c. ones for the master-builders, and still others for the masons and in turn for the common labourers; and he in person, together with his friends, oversaw the work through all the days required, visiting every section and ever lending a hand to the toilers. Speaking generally, he laid aside the dignity of his office and reduced himself to the ranks. Putting his hands to the hardest tasks, he endured the same toil as the other workers, so that great rivalry was engendered and some added even a part of the night to the day's labour, such eagerness had infected the multitude for the task. As a result, contrary to expectation, the wall was brought to completion in twenty days. It was thirty stades in length and of corresponding height, and the added strength of the wall made it impregnable to assault; for there were lofty towers at frequent intervals and it was constructed of stones four feet long and carefully joined.

19. At the close of the year Exacenetus was archon in Athens, and in Rome six military tribunes took over the consular magistracy, Publius Cornelius, Caeso Fabius, Spurius Nautius, Gaius Valerius, and Manius Sergius. At this time Cyrus, who was commander of the satrapics on the sea, had been planning for a long while to lead an army against his brother Artaxerxes; for the young man was full of ambition and had a keepness for the encounters of war that

<sup>2</sup> See chap. 12. 8 and note.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Several manuscripts complete the number by adding "and Junius Lucullus."

3 κατὰ πόλεμον ἀγῶνας. ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτῷ μισθοφόρων πληθος ἰκανὸν συνήκτο καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν εὐτρέπιστο, τοῖς μὲν πλήθεσιν οὐκ ἐδήλου τάληθές, ἔφασκε δ' εἰς Κιλικίαν ἀνάγειν τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ

4 τούς άφεστηκότας τοῦ βασιλέως τυράννους. ἀπέστειλε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πρεσβευτὰς
τοὺς ἀνανεωσομένους τὰς κατὰ τὸν πρὸς Αθηναίους
πόλεμον εὐεργεσίας καὶ παρακαλέσοντας ἐαυτῷ
συμμαχεῖν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, νομίσαντες αὐτοῖς συνοίσειν τὸν πόλεμον, ἔγνωσαν τῷ Κύρῳ
βοηθεῖν, καὶ παραχρῆμα ἐξέπεμψαν πρεσβευτὰς
πρὸς τὸν ἐαυτῶν ναύαρχον Σάμον ὀνομαζόμενον,

ε όπως ὅ τι ἄν κελεύη ὁ Κῦρος πράττη. ὁ δὲ Σάμος εἰχε μὲν τριήρεις εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε, μεθ' ὧν πλεύσας εἰς "Εφεσον πρὸς τὸν Κύρου ναύαρχον ἔτοιμος ῆν αὐτῷ πάντα συμπράττειν. ἐξέπεμψαν δὲ καὶ πεζοὺς στρατιώτας ὀκτακοσίους, ἡγεμόνα Χειρίσοφον καταστήσαντες. ἀφηγεῖτο δὲ τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στόλου Ταμώς, ἔχων τριήρεις πεντήκοντα πολυτελῶς ἐξηρτυμένας' καὶ καταπλευσάντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνήχθησαν οἱ στόλοι τὸν πλοῦν ὡς ἐπὶ Κιλικίας ποιούμενοι.

Κῦρος δὲ τούς τε ἀπὸ τῆς ᾿Ασίας στρατολογηθέντας καὶ μισθοφόρους μυρίους τρισχιλίους ἀθροίσας εἰς Σάρδεις, Αυδίας μὲν καὶ Φρυγίας κατέστησεν ἐπιμελητὰς Πέρσας ἐαυτοῦ συγγενεῖς, Ἰωνίας δὲ καὶ τῆς Αἰολίδος, ἔτι δὲ τῶν σύνεγγυς τόπων Ταμώ, φίλον μὲν ὅντα πιστόν, τὸ δὲ γένος ὑπάρχοντα Μεμφίτην αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως προῆγεν ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ Πισιδίας, διαδιδοὺς λόγον ὅτι τινὲς τῶν ἐκεῖ κατοικούντων

<sup>1</sup> So Wesseling : despriantivas.

# BOOK XIV. 19, 2-6

was not unrewarded. When an adequate force of 401 n.c. mercenaries had been collected for him and all preparations for the campaign had been completed, he did not reveal the truth to the troops, but kept asserting that he was leading the army to Cilicia against the despots who were in rebellion against the King. He also dispatched ambassadors to the Lacedacmonians to recall to their minds the services he had rendered in their war against the Athenians and to urge them to join him as allies. The Lacedaemonians, thinking that the war would be to their advantage, decided to give aid to Cyrus and forthwith sent ambassadors to their admiral, named Samus,1 with instructions that he should carry out whatever Cyrus ordered. Samus had twenty-five triremes, and with these he sailed to Ephesus to Cyrus' admiral and was ready to co-operate with him in every respect. They also sent eight hundred infantry, giving the command to Cheirisophus. The commander of the barbarian fleet was Tamos, who had fifty triremes which had been fitted out at great expense; and after the Lacedaemonians had arrived, the fleets put out to sca, following a course for Cilicia.

Cyrus, after gathering to Sardis both the levies of Asia and thirteen thousand mercenaries, appointed Persians of his kindred to be governors of Lydia and Phrygia, but of Ionia, Aeolis, and the neighburing territories, his trusted friend Tamös, who was a native of Memphis; then he with his army advanced in the direction of Cilicia and Pisidia, spreading the report that certain peoples of those regions were in revolt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Samius in Xenophon, Hell. 3. 1. 1.

7 ἀφεστήκασιν. είχε δὲ τοὺς ἄπαντας ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς ᾿Ασίας ἐπτακισμυρίους, ὧν ἦσαν ἱππεῖς τρισχίλιοι, ἀπὸ δὲ Πελοποννήσου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος

από δε Πελοποννήσου και της αλλης Ελλασος 8 μισθοφόρους μυρίους τρισχιλίους. ήγειτο δε τών μεν από Πελοποννήσου χωρίς 'Αχαιών Κλέαρχος

μεν άπό Πελοποννήσου χωρις Αχαιών Κλεαρχος δ Λακεδαιμόνιος, τῶν δ' ἀπὸ Βοιωτίας Πρόξενος Θηβαΐος, τῶν δ' 'Αχαιῶν Σωκράτης 'Αχαιός, τῶν

9 δ' άπό Θεσσαλίας Μένων ό Λαρισσαῖος. των δε βαρβάρων τὰς μὲν κατὰ λεπτὰν ἡγεμονίας εἶχον Πέρσαι, τῶν δὲ συμπάντων αὐτὸς ἡγεῖτο Κῦρος, ος τοῖς μὲν ἡγεμόσιν ἐδεδηλώκει τὴν ἐπὶ τὰν ἀδελφὸν ἀνάβασιν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἔκρυπτεν, εὐλαβούμενος μήποτε διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς στρατείας ἐγκαταλίπη τὴν ἐαυτοῦ προαίρεσιν. διὸ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν προορώμενος τὸ μέλλον ἐξεθεράπευσε τοὺς στρατιώτας, κοινὸν ἐαυτὸν παρεχόμενος καὶ

δαψιλείς άγορας έτοιμάζων.

20. Έπεὶ δὲ διῆλθε Λυδίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν, ἔτι δὲ Καππαδοκίας τὰ συνορίζοντα, παρεγενήθη πρὸς τοὺς ὅρους τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ τὴν πρὸς ταῖς Κιλικίαις Πύλαις εἰσβολήν αὕτη δ' ἐστὶ στενὴ καὶ παράκρημνος ἐπὶ σταδίους μὲν εἴκοσι παρατείνουσα, πλησίον δ' αὐτῆς ἐστιν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὅρη μεγάλα καὶ δυσπρόσιτα ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐξ ἐκατέρου μέρους τείχη κατατείνει μέχρι τῆς ὁδοῦ, 2 καθ' ἡν ἐνωκοδόμηνται πύλαι. διεξαγαγών δὲ διὰ τούτων τὴν δύναμιν εἰσέβαλεν εἴς τι πεδίον τῶν κατὰ τὴν 'Ασίαν οὐδενὸς τῷ κάλλει λειπόμενον δι' οῦ πορευθεὶς εἰς Ταρσόν, μεγίστην τῶν ἐν Κιλικία πόλεων, ταχέως αὐτῆς ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο.

From Asia he had in all seventy thousand troops, of 401 a.c. whom three thousand were cavalry, and from the Peloponnesus and the rest of Greece thirteen thousand mercenaries. The soldiers from the Peloponnesus, with the exception of the Achaeans, were commanded by Clearchus the Lacedaemonian, those from Boeotia by Proxenus the Theban, the Achaeans by Socrates the Achaean, and those from Thessaly by Menon of Larissa. The officers of the barbarians, in minor commands, were Persians, and of the whole army Cyrus himself was commander-in-chief. He had disclosed to the commanders that he was marching against his brother, but he kept this hid from the troops for fear that they would leave his enterprise stranded because of the scale of his expedition. Consequently along the march, by way of providing for the coming occasion, he curried favour with the troops by affability and by providing abundant supplies of provisions.

20. After Cyrus had traversed Lydia and Phrygia as well as the regions bordering on Cappadocia, he arrived at the boundaries of Cilicia and the entrance at the Cilician Gates. This pass is narrow and precipitous, twenty stades in length, and bordering it on both sides are exceedingly high and inaccessible mountains; and walls stretch down on each side from the mountains as far as the roadway, where gates have been built across it. Leading his army through these gates, Cyrus entered a plain which in beauty yields to no plain in Asia, and through which he advanced to Tarsus, the largest city of Cilicia, which

<sup>1</sup> Κανναδοκίας Wirm; καὶ τὰ (οτ κατὰ) τῆς Κιλικίας Ρ, καὶ κατὰ τῆς Κιλ. ΕͿΚΜ, καὶ τὰ τῆς Κιλ. cet.

<sup>\*</sup> τι πεδίον Stephanus: τενέβιον.

Συέννεσις δ' ό της Κιλικίας δυναστεύων ώς ήκουσε το μέγεθος της των πολεμίων δυνάμεως, είς απο-3 ρίαν πολλήν ενέπιπτεν, ούκ ων άξιόμαχος. μεταπεμπομένου δ' αὐτὸν Κύρου καὶ τὰ πιστὰ δόντος επορεύθη πρός αὐτόν, καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ πολέμου πυθόμενος ώμολόγησε συμμαχήσειν έπὶ τὸν 'Αρτα-Εέρξην, και τον ένα των υίων τω Κύρω συνεξαπέστειλεν, αὐτῶ δοὺς τῶν Κιλίκων τοὺς ίκανοὺς συστρατευσομένους πανούργος γάρ ων την φύσιν καὶ πρός τὸ τῆς τύχης άδηλον ἀρτισάμενος, τὸν έτερον των υίων εξέπεμμε λάθρα πρός τον βασιλέα, δηλώσοντα και τας δυνάμεις έπ' εκείνον ήθροισμένας και διότι της μέν συμμαχίας δι' ανάγκην τῷ Κύρω μετέχει, τῆ δ' εὐνοία προσμένων, αν καιρός γένηται, καταλυπών έκεινον τώ βασιλεί συστρατεύσεσθαι.

Κύρος δ' εξκοσι μέν ήμέρας εν Ταρσώ την δύναμιν ἀνέλαβε· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναζευγνύντος αὐτοῦ,
τὸ πλήθος ὑπώπτευσε τὴν στρατείαν ἐπὶ τὸν 'Αρταξέρξην γίνεσθαι. ἀναλογιζόμενος δὲ ἔκαστος τὰ
μήκη τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ τὰ πλήθη τῶν πολεμίων ἐθνῶν,
δι' ὧν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι, τελέως
ἢγωνία· διαβεβόητο γὰρ ἡ μὲν ἔως Βάκτρων όδὸς
οὖσα στρατοπέδω τετραμήνου, δύναμις δ' ἡθροισμένη τῷ βασιλεῖ πλείω τῶν τετταράκοντα μυριάδων. διὸ δὴ περιδεεῖς ὄντες ἐκεῖνοι ἡγανάκτουν,

δων. διὸ δὴ περιδεεῖς ὅντες ἐκεῖνοι ἢγανάκτουν, καὶ τοὺς ἢγεμόνας δι' ὀργῆς ἔχοντες ἐνεχείρησαν ἀναιρεῖν ὡς προδότας ἐαυτῶν ὅντας. τοῦ δὲ Κύρου δεομένου πάντων, καὶ διαβεβαιουμένου τὴν στρα-

<sup>1</sup> So Reiske: στρατευσομένους.

he speedily mastered. When Syennesis, the lord of on no. Cilicia, heard of the great size of the hostile army, he was at a great loss, since he was no match for it in battle. When he was summoned to Cyrus' presence and had been given pledges, he went to him, and on learning the truth about the war he agreed to join him as an ally against Artaxerxes; and he sent one of his two sons along with Cyrus, giving him also a strong contingent of Cilicians for his army. For Syennesis, being by nature unscrupulous and having adjusted himself to the uncertainty of Fortune, had dispatched his other son secretly to the King to reveal to him the armaments that had been gathered against him and to assure him that he took the part of Cyrus out of necessity, but that he was still faithful to the King and, when the opportunity arose, would desert Cyrus and join the army of the King.

Cyrus rested his army twenty days in Tarsus, and after this, when he would have resumed the march, the troops suspected that the campaign was against Artaxerxes. And as each man reckoned up the length of the distances entailed and the multitude of hostile peoples through whom they would have to pass, he was filled with the deepest anxiety; for the word had got about that it was a four months' march for an army to Bactria and that a force of more than four hundred thousand soldiers had been mustered for the King. Consequently the soldiers became most fearful and vexed, and in anger at their commanders they attempted to kill them on the ground that the commanders had betrayed them. But when Cyrus entreated one and all of them and assured them

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> So Wurm for πρός ἐκεῖνον οſ MSS.; πρός ἐκεῖνον ἀποκλίνων Dindorf, π. ἐ. ρέπει καὶ (οr κῶν) Vogel.

τιαν ανάγειν οὐκ ἐπ' 'Αρταξέρξην, άλλ' ἐπί τινα σατράπην τῆς Συρίας, ἐπείσθησαν οί στρατιῶται, καὶ λαβόντες πλείω μισθὸν ἀποκατέστησαν εἰς

την έξ άρχης εύνοιαν.

21. 'Ο δε Κύρος επειδή διήλθε την Κιλικίαν, παρεγενήθη πρὸς πόλιν Ίσσόν, επὶ θαλάττης μὲν κειμένην, ἐσχάτην δ΄ οὖσαν τῆς Κιλικίας. κατ-έπλευσε δ' εἰς αὐτὴν περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ δ στόλος ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ οἱ στρατηγοῦντες ἐξέβησαν καὶ συντυχόντες τῷ Κύρω τὴν τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν εἰς αὐτὸν εῦνοιαν ἀπήγγειλαν, καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Χειρισόφου πεζοὺς δκτακοσίους ἐκβιβάσαντες παρέδωκαν. τούτους δὲ προσεποιοῦντο μὲν οἱ φίλοι τοῦ Κύρου πέμψαι μισθοφόρους, τῆ δ' ἀληθεία μετὰ τῆς τῶν ἐφόρων γνώμης ἄπαντ' ἐπράττετο· οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι φανερὸν οῦπω τὸν πόλεμον ἐπανηροῦντο, κατέκρυπτον δὲ τὴν προαίρεσιν, ἐπιτηροῦντες τὴν ῥοπὴν τοῦ πολέμου.

Ο δὲ Κῦρος μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀνέζευξεν ἐπὶ Συρίας τὴν πορείαν ποιούμενος, καὶ τοὺς ναυάρχους δ ἐκέλευσε συμπαραπλεῖν ἀπάσαις ταῖς ναυοίν. ὡς δ' ἤλθεν ἐπὶ τὰς Πύλας καλουμένας καὶ τὸν τόπον εῦρεν ἔρημον τῶν φυλαττόντων, περιχαρὴς ἦν ἡγωνία γὰρ σφόδρα, μή τινες αὐτὰς εἶεν προκατειλημμένοι. ἔστι δὲ ἡ φύσις τοῦ τόπου στενὴ καὶ παράκρημνος, ὥστε δὶ ὀλίγων ράδίως παραφυλάττεσθαι. ὅρη γὰρ πλησίον ἀλλήλων κεῖται, τὸ μὲν τραχὺ καὶ κρημνοὺς ἔχον ἀξιολόγους, ἐπ' αὐτῆς δ' ἄρχεται τῆς ὁδοῦ ἔτερον ὅρος μέγιστον τῶν

<sup>1</sup> nal after Kiliniav deleted by Wurm.
2 κατέπλευσε δ' Bezzel : καταπλεύσας.

## BOOK XIV. 20, 5-21, 4

that he was leading the army, not against Artaxerxes, 601 n.c. but against a certain satrap of Syria, the soldiers yielded, and when they had received an increase in pay, they resumed their former lovalty to him.

21. As Cyrus marched through Cilicia he arrived at Issus, which lies on the sea and is the last city of Cilicia. At the same time the fleet of the Lacedac-monians also put in at the city, and the commanders went ashore, met with Cyrus, and reported the good-will of the Spartans toward him; and they disembarked and turned over to him the eight hundred infantry under the command of Cheirisophus. The pretence was that these mercenaries were sent by the friends of Cyrus, but in fact everything was done with the consent of the cphors. The Lacedaemonians had not yet openly entered upon the war, but were concealing their purpose, awaiting the turn of the

Cyrus set out with his army, travelling toward Syria, and ordered the admirals to accompany him by sea with all the ships. When he arrived at the Gates, as they are called, and found the place clear of guards, he was elated, for he was greatly concerned lest troops might have occupied them before his arrival. The place is narrow and precipitous in character, so that it can be easily guarded by few troops. For two mountains lie against each other, the one jagged and with great crags, and the other beginning right at the road itself, and it is the largest in those

### Between Cilicia and Syria.

<sup>2</sup> ral of orparnyourres added by Bersel, who also deletes ourrugaires.

<sup>4</sup> So Wesseling: μέρος.

μίγιστου Vogel: μία δ' δοτίν.

περί τους τόπους έκείνους, και καλείται μέν "Αμανος, παρεκτείνει δε παρά την Φοινίκην ό δ' άνα μέσον τόπος των όρων, υπάρχων ώς τριών σταδίων, παντελώς τετειγισμένος και πύλας έχων δ είς στενόν συγκλειομένας. διελθών οθν ο Κύρος ταύτας ακινδύνως, τον μεν λοιπον στόλον απέστειλεν άνακάμψαι είς "Εφεσον" οὐκέτι γάρ αὐτῶ χρήσιμος ήν μέλλοντι διά μεσογείου την πορείαν ποιείσθαι. όδοιπορήσας δ' ήμέρας είκοσι παρεγενήθη πρός Θάψακον πύλιν, ή κείται παρά τόν 6 ποταμόν τον Ευφράτην. ενταθθα δε πένθ' ήμέρας διατρίψας, και την δύναμιν έξιδιοποιησάμενος ταις τε των επιτηδείων αφθυνίαις και ταις έκ των προνομών ώφελείαις, συνήγαγεν εκκλησίαν και την άλήθειαν της στρατείας εδήλωσεν. προσάντως δέ δεξαμένων τον λόγον των στρατιωτών, έδειτο πάντων μη καταλιπείν έαυτόν, επαγγελλόμενος άλλας τε μεγάλας δωρεάς καὶ ότι παραγενομένοις αὐτοῖς² είς Βαβυλώνα κατ' άνδρα εκαστον δώσει πέντε μνας άργυρίου, οί μεν ούν στρατιώται ταις ελπίσι 7 μετεωρισθέντες επείσθησαν ακολουθείν ό δε Κύρος ώς διέβη τη δυνάμει τον Ευφράτην, ηπείγετο κατά το συνεχές οδοιπορών, και παραγενηθείς έπι τούς όρους της Βαβυλωνίας ανελάμβανε την δύναμιν.

22. 'Ο δε βασιλεύς 'Αρταξέρξης και πάλαι μεν ήν παρά Φαρναβάζου πεπυσμένος ότι στρατόπεδον επ' αὐτον άθροίζει λάθρα Κύρος, και τότε δή πυθόμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀνάβασιν μετεπέμπετο τὰς παν-2 ταχόθεν δυνάμεις εἰς 'Εκβάτανα τῆς Μηδίας. ἐπεὶ δε αι τε παρ' 'Ινδῶν και τινων ἄλλων εθνῶν καθ-

regions, bearing the name Amanus and extending on a.c. along Phoenicia; and the space between the mountains, some three stades in length, has walls running its whole length and gates closed to make a narrow passage. Now, after passing through the Gates without a fight, Cyrus sent off that part of the fleet that was still with him to make the return voyage to Ephesus, since it was of no further use to him now that he would be travelling inland. After a march of twenty days he arrived at the city of Thapsacus, which lies on the Euphrates River. Here he remained five days, and after winning the army to himself both by abundant supplies and by booty from foraging, he summoned it to an assembly and disclosed the truth about his campaign. When the soldiers received his words unfavourably, he besought them, one and all, not to leave him in the lurch, promising, besides other great rewards, that, when they came to Babylon, he would give every man of them five minas of silver. The soldiers, accordingly, soaring in their expectations, were prevailed upon to follow him. When Cyrus crossed the Euphrates with his army, he pressed on the way without making any halt, and as soon as he reached the borders of Babylonia he rested his troops.

22. King Artaxerxes had learned some time before from Pharnabazus that Cyrus was secretly collecting an army to lead against him, and when he now learned that he was on the march, he summoned his armaments from every place to Echatana in Media. When the contingents from the Indians and certain other

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Some ninety dollars.

Aμανος Wesseling: Λίβανος.
 So Sintenis: παραγενόμενος αθτός.

υστέρουν διὰ τὸ μακρὰν ἀφεστάναι τοὺς τόπους, μετὰ τῆς συναχθείσης στρατιᾶς ὧρμησεν ἀπαντήσων τῷ Κύρω. είχε δὲ τοὺς ἄπαντας στρατιώτας σὺν ἱππεῦσιν οὐκ ἐλάττους τετταράκοντα μυριάδων,

3 καθά φησιν "Εφορος. ώς δ' εἰς τὸ Βαβυλώνιον ῆκε πεδίον, παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην στρατοπεδείαν εβάλετο, διανοούμενος ἐν ταύτη καταλιπεῖν τὴν ἀποσκευήν ἐπυνθάνετο γὰρ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐ μακρὰν ὅντας, καὶ τὸ παράβολαν αὐτῶν τῆς τόλμης ὑπώπτευεν.

4 ὀρύξας οὖν τάφρον τὸ μὲν πλάτος ποδῶν ἐξήκοντα, τὸ δὲ βάθος¹ ποδῶν δέκα, περιέθηκε κύκλῳ τὰς συνακολουθούσας άρμαμάξας καθαπερεὶ τεῖχος. καταλιπὼν δ' ἐν τῆ παρεμβολῆ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν καὶ τὸν άχρεῖον ὅχλον, ἐπὶ μὲν ταύτης ἰκανὴν φυλακὴν παρέστησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν δύναμιν εὕζωνον προαγαγὼν ἀπήντα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγγὺς ὑπάρχουσιν.

5 'Ο δὲ Κῦρος ὡς είδε προϊοῦσαν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως στρατιάν, εὐθὺς εἰς τάξεις κατέστησε τὸ σφέτερον στρατόπεδον. τὸ μὲν οὖν δεξιὸν κέρας παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην παρεκτεῖνον πεζοὶ μὲν ἐπεῖχον Λακεδαιμόνιοι καί τινες τῶν μισθοφόρων, ὧν ἀπάντων Κλέαρχος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀφηγεῖτο· συνηγωνίζοντο δ' αὐτῷ τῶν ἱππέων οἱ συναχθέντες ἀπὸ Παφλαγονίας, ὅντες ὑπὲρ τοὺς χιλίους· τὸ δὲ θάτερον μέρος ἐπεῖχον οἱ τ' ἀπὸ Φρυγίας καὶ Λυδίας,

ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἱππέων περὶ χιλίους, ὧν εἶχε τὴν ἡγεμοο νίαν 'Αριδαῖος. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Κῦρος ἐτέτακτο κατὰ μέσην τὴν φάλαγγα τοὺς κρατίστους ἔχων Περσῶν τε καὶ τῶν ὅλλων βαρβάρων ὡς μυρίους· προηγοῦντο δ' αὐτῷ τῶν ἱππέων οἱ κάλλιστα διεσκευασμένοι χίλιοι, θώρακας ἔχοντες καὶ μαχαίρας

peoples were delayed because of the remoteness of an a.c. those regions, he set out to meet Cyrus with the army that had been assembled. He had in all not less than four hundred thousand soldiers, including cavalry. as Ephorus states. When he arrived on the plain of Babylonia, he pitched a camp beside the Euphrates, intending to leave his baggage in it; for he had learned that the enemy was not far distant and he was apprehensive of their reckless daring. Accordingly he dug a trench sixty feet wide and ten deep and encircled the camp with the baggage-waggons of his train like a wall. Having left behind in the camp the baggage and the attendants who were of no use in the battle, he appointed an adequate guard for it, and leading forward in person his army unencumbered, he advanced to meet the enemy which was near at hand.

When Cyrus saw the King's army advancing, he at once drew up his own force in battle order. The right wing, which rested on the Euphrates, was held by infantry composed of Lacedacmonians and some of the mercenaries, all under the command of Clearchus the Lacedaemonian, and helping him in the fight were the cavalry brought from Paphlagonia. more than a thousand. The left wing was held by the troops from Phrygia and Lydia and about a thousand of the cavalry, under the command of Aridaeus. Cyrus himself had taken a station in the centre of the battle-line, together with the choicest troops gathered from Persians and the other barbarians, about ten thousand strong; and leading the van before him were the finest-equipped cavalry, a thousand, armed with Greek breastplates and swords.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> So Palmer : µйкоз.

7 Έλληνικάς. 'Αρταξέρξης δὲ πρό μὲν τῆς φάλαγγος πάσης έστησεν άρματα δρεπανηφόρα τον άριθμον οὐκ όλίγα· καὶ τῶν μὲν κεράτων Πέρσας ήγεμόνας κατέστησε, κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέσον αὐτὸς ετάχθη τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἔχων οὐκ ἐλάττους πεντα-

κισμυρίων.

23. 'Ως δε τρείς σχεδον σταδίους άπείχον άλλήλων αί δυνάμεις, οί μεν "Ελληνες παιανίσαντες τὸ μέν πρώτον ήσυχή προήγον ώς δ' έντος βέλους ήσαν, έθεον κατά πολλήν οπουδήν. παρηγγελκώς δ' αὐτοῖς Κλέαρχος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ήν τοῦτο πράττειν τὸ μὲν γὰρ έκ διαστήματος πολλοῦ μὴ τρέχειν ήμελλεν άκεραίους τοῖς σώμασι τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους τηρήσειν είς την μάχην, το δ' έγγυς όντας δρόμω προσιέναι τὰς τῶν τόξων βολὰς καὶ των άλλων βελών υπερπετείς εδόκει ποιήσειν. 2 έπει δ' ήγγισαν οι μετά Κύρου τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατοπέδω, τοσοῦτ' ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐρρίφη βελῶν πληθος, όσον είκός έστιν έκ δυνάμεως ένεχθηναι συνεστώσης έκ μυριάδων τετταράκοντα. οὐ μην άλλά βραχύν χρόνον παντελώς τοις παλτοις διαγωνισάμενοι, το λοιπον έκ χειρός ήδη την μάχην συνίσταντο.

3 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων μισθοφόρων εύθυς έκ της πρώτης συστάσεως εξέπληξαν τους

αντιτεταγμένους βαρβάρους τῆ τε τῶν ὅπλων λαμ-πρότητι καὶ ταῖς εὐχειρίαις. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ ἦσαν οπλοις τε μικροίς ἐσκεπασμένοι και τὰ πολλά τῶν ταγμάτων έχοντες ψιλικά, προς δε τούτοις απειροι των κατά πόλεμον κινδύνων οι δ' Ελληνες διά τὸ μῆκος τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου κατά τὸ

1 7d omitted PA, Vogel.

Artaxerxes stationed before the length of his battle- 40 me. line scythe-bearing chariots in no small number, and the wings he put under command of Persians, while he himself took his position in the centre with no less

than fifty thousand élite troops.

23. When the armies were about three stades apart, the Greeks struck up the paean and at first advanced at a slow pace, but as soon as they were within range of missiles they began to run at great speed.1 Clearchus the Laceducmonian had given orders for them to do this, for by not running from a great distance he had in mind to keep the fighters fresh in body for the fray, while if they advanced on the run when at close quarters, this, it was thought, would cause the missiles shot by bows and other means to fly over their heads. When the troops with Cyrus approached the King's army, such a multitude of missiles was hurled upon them as one could expect to be discharged from a host of four hundred thousand. Nevertheless, they fought but an altogether short time with javelins and then for the remainder of the battle closed hand to hand.

The Lacedaemonians and the rest of the mercenaries at the very first contact struck terror into the opposing barbarians both by the splendour of their arms and by the skill they displayed. For the barbarians were protected by small shields and their divisions were for the most part equipped with light arms; and, furthermore, they were without trial in the perils of war, whereas the Greeks had been in constant battle by reason of the length of the Pelo-

<sup>1</sup> The battle is known as that of Cunaxa.

συνεχές εν μάχαις γεγενημένοι πολύ ταις εμπειρίαις διέφερον. διόπερ εὐθὺ τρεψάμενοι τοὺς καθ' αύτους εδίωκον, και πολλούς των βαρβάρων άνήρουν. 5 κατά δε μέσην την τάξιν ετυχε μεν αμφοτέρους τους υπέρ της βασιλείας άγωνιζομένους ταχθήναι. διο και κατανοήσαντες το γεγενημένον ωρμησαν έπ' άλλήλους, φιλοτιμούμενοι δι' έαυτῶν κρίναι τὴν μάχην συνήγαγε γάρ, ώς ξοικεν, ή τύχη την ύπερ της ήγεμονίας τοις άδελφοις έριν είς μονομαχίαν καθάπερ είς απομίμημα τής παλαιας έκείνης καὶ τραγωδουμένης της περί τον Έπεοκλέα και Πολυο νείκην τόλμης. Κύρος μεν ούν φθάσας εκ διαστήματος ηκόντισε, καὶ τυχών τοῦ βασιλέως ἔσφηλεν αθτόν επί την γην ον ταχέως οι περί αθτόν άρπάσαντες απήνεγκαν έκ της μάχης. και την μέν τοῦ βασιλέως ήγεμονίαν διαδεξάμενος Τισσαφέρνης ανήρ Πέρσης παρεκάλει τε τὰ πλήθη καὶ αὐτός λαμπρῶς ηγωνίζετο αναμαχόμενος δε το περί τον βασιλέα γεγονός ελάττωμα καὶ μετά των επιλέκτων επί πάντα τόπον επιφαινόμενος πολλούς ανήρει των άντιτεταγμένων, ώστε την επιφάνειαν αὐτοῦ πόρ-7 ρωθεν ύπάρχειν ἐπίσημον. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐπαρθεὶς τῷ προτερήματι των περί αὐτὸν εἰς μέσους εβιάσατο τούς πολεμίους, και το μέν πρώτον άφειδώς τή τόλμη χρώμενος πολλούς ανήρει, μετά δέ ταθτα προχειρότερον κινδυνεύων ύπό τινος τῶν τυχόντων Περσών πληγείς επικαίρως έπεσεν. τούτου δ' αναιρεθέντος οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς τὴν μάχην 76

ponnesian War and were far superior in experience. 401 a.c. Consequently they straightway put their opponents to flight, pushed after them in pursuit, and slew many of the barbarians. In the centre of the lines, it so happened, were stationed both the men who were contending for the kingship. Consequently, becoming aware of this fact, they made at each other, being eagerly desirous of deciding the issue of the battle by their own hands: for Fortune, it appears, brought the rivalry of the brothers over the throne to culmination in a duel as if in imitation of that ancient rash combat of Etcocles and Polyneices so celebrated in tragedy.1 Cyrus was the first to hurl his javelin from a distance, and striking the King, brought him to the ground; but the King's attendants speedily snatched him away and carried him out of the battle. Tissaphernes, a Persian noble, now succeeded to the supreme command held by the King, and not only rallied the troops but fought himself in splendid fashion; and retrieving the reverse involved in the wounding of the King and arriving on the scene everywhere with his élite troops, he slew great numbers of the enemy, so that his presence was conspicuous from afar. Cyrus, being elated by the success of his forces, rushed boldly into the midst of the enemy and at first slew numbers of them as he set no bounds to his daring; but later, as he fought too imprudently, he was struck by a common Persian and fell mortally wounded. Upon his death the King's soldiers gained confidence for the battle and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The fullest account preserved to us is in Aeschylus, The Saven against Thebes.

<sup>1</sup> TOV TO Dindorf.

ἐπερρώσθησαν, καὶ τέλος τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τῆ

τόλμη κατεπόνησαν τους ανθεστηκότας.

24. Έκ δε θατέρου μέρους 'Αριδαΐος ό Κύρου σατράπης τεταγμένος επί της ήγεμονίας το μεν πρώτον ευρώστως εδέξατο τούς επιόντας βαρβάρους. μετά δε ταθτα της φάλαγγος επί πολύ παρεκτεινούσης κυκλούμενος και την Κύρου τελευτήν πυθόμενος, έφυγε μετά των ιδίων στρατιωτών πρός τινα τῶν ἰδίων σταθμῶν, ἔχοντα καταφυγήν οὐκ 2 ανεπιτήδειον. Κλέαρχος δέ θεωρών τήν τε μέσην τάξιν και τάλλα μέρη των συμμάχων τετραμμένα, τοῦ μεν διώκειν ἀπέστη, τους δε στρατιώτας άνακαλούμενος καθίστα εύλαβείτο γάρ μήποτε πάσης της δυνάμεως έπι τούς "Ελληνας έλθούσης κυκλω-3 θώσι καὶ πάντες ἀπόλωνται. οἱ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ταγθέντες ἐπειδή τὰ καθ' αύτους ἐτρέψαντο, πρώτον μέν την αποσκευήν του Κύρου διήρπασαν, μετά δε ταθτα ήδη νυκτός επελθούσης άθροισθέντες έπὶ τούς Ελληνας ώρμησαν ών δεξαμένων την έφοδον εύγενως, δλίγον μέν χρόνον ὑπέμενον οί βάρβαροι, μετ' ολίγον δε ταις τόλμαις και ταις 4 εύχειρίαις νικώμενοι πρός φυγήν ώρμησαν. οἱ δὲ περί Κλέαρχον πολλούς των βαρβάρων άνελόντες, ώς ήδη νύξ ήν, αναχωρήσαντες τρόπαιον εστησαν, και περί δευτέραν σχεδον φυλακήν εφθασαν είς την ο παρεμβολήν. της δε μάχης τοιούτον τέλος λαβούσης άνηρέθησαν των του βασιλέως πλείους των μυρίων πεντακισχιλίων, ων τους πλείστους άνειλον οί μετά Κλεάργου ταχθέντες Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ μισθοφό-6 ροι. Εκ δε θατέρου μέρους των Κύρου στρατιωτών έπεσον περί τρισχιλίους των δέ Έλλήνων φασίν άναιρεθήναι μέν οὐδένα, τρωθήναι δ' ολίγους.

in the end, by virtue of numbers and daring, wore 401 a.c.

down their opponents.

24. On the other wing Aridaeus, who was second in command to Cyrus, at first withstood stoutly the charge of the barbarians, but later, since he was being encircled by the far-extended line of the enemy and had learned of Cyrus' death, he turned in flight with the soldiers under his command to one of the stations where he had once stopped, which was not unsuited as a place for retreat. Clearchus, when he observed that both the centre of his allies and the other parts as well had been routed, stopped his pursuit, and calling back the soldiers, set them in order; for he feared that if the entire army should turn on the Greeks, they would be surrounded and slain to a man. The King's troops, after they had put their opponents to flight, first plundered Cyrus' baggage-train and then, when night had come on, gathered in force and set upon the Greeks; but when the Greeks met the attack valiantly, the barbarians withstood them only a short while and after a little turned in flight, being overcome by their deeds of valour and skill. The troops of Clearchus, when they had slain great numbers of the barbarians, since it was already night, returned to the battlefield and set up a trophy, and about the second watch got safe to their camp. Such was the outcome of the battle, and of the army of the King more than fifteen thougand were slain, most of whom fell at the hands of the Lacedaemonians and mercenaries under the command of Clearchus. On the other side some three thousand of Cyrus' soldiers fell, while of the Greeks, we are told, not a man was slain, though a few were wounded.

Τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς παρελθούσης ᾿Αριδαῖος ὁ πεφευγώς εἰς τὸν σταθμὸν ἀπέστειλέ τινας πρὸς τὸν Κλέαρχον, παρακαλῶν πρὸς ἐαυτὸν ἀπαγαγεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ κοινῆ διασώζεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ θάλατταν τόπους ἀνηρημένου γὰρ Κύρου καὶ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως δυνάμεων ὑπερεχουσῶν, ἀγωνία πολλὴ κατέσχε τοὺς τετολμηκότας ἐπὶ τῆ καταλύσει τῆς ᾿Αρταζέρξου βασιλείας στρατεύεσθαι.

25. 'Ο δὲ Κλέαρχος ἀνακαλεσάμενος τούς τε στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς ἐψ' ἡγεμονίας τεταγμένους ἐβουλεύετο περὶ τῶν παρόντων. ὅντων δ' αὐτῶν περὶ ταῦτα παρεγενήθησαν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πρέσβεις, ὧν ἢν ἀρχιπρεσβευτὴς ἀνὴρ "Ελλην, ὄνομα μὲν Φάλυνος, γένος δὲ Ζακύνθιος. εἰσαχθέντες δ' εἰς τὸ συνέδριον εἶπον, ὅτι λέγει ὁ βασιλεὺς 'Αρταξέρξης· Έπειδὴ νενίκηκα Κῦρον ἀποκτείνας, παράδοτε τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ πρὸς τὰς θύρας αὐτοῦ βαδίσαντες ζητεῖτε, πῶς ἃν αὐτὸν ἐκθεραπεύσαντες ἀγαθοῦ τινος μεταλάβητε. ἡηθέντων δὲ τούτων ἀπόκρισιν ἔδωκεν ἔκαστος τῶν στρατηγῶν τοιαύτην οἴαν Λεωνίδης, καθ' ὅν καιρὸν περὶ Θερμοπύλας αὐτοῦ φυλάττοντος τὰς παρόδους Ξέρξης ἀπέστειλεν ἀγγέλους, κελεύων τῶν ὅπλων παραχωρῆσαι. 3 καὶ γὰρ τότε Λεωνίδης εἶπεν ἀπαγγείλαι τῷ

βασιλεί διότι νομίζομεν, καν φίλοι γενώμεθα τῷ Εέρξη, μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ὅντες ἀμείνους ἔσεσθαι σύμμαχοι, καν πολεμείν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀναγκασθῶμεν, 4 βέλτιον μετὰ τούτων ἀγωνιείσθαι. παραπλησίως

ε ρεκτίου μετα τουτών αγωνιείουαι. παραπλήσιώς δὲ καὶ τοῦ Κλεάρχου περὶ τούτων ἀποκριναμένου, Πρόξενος ὁ Θηβαΐος εἶπεν, ὅτι νῦν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σχεδὸν ἀποβεβλήκαμεν, λέλειπται δ' ἡμῖν ἥ τ' ἀρετὴ καὶ τὰ ὅπλα. νομίζομεν οὖν, ἄν μὲν ταῦτα

# BOOK XIV. 24, 7-25, 4

When the night was past, Aridaeus, who had fled on a.c. to the stopping-place, dispatched messengers to Clearchus, urging him to lead his soldiers to him and to ioin him in making a safe return to the regions on the sea. For now that Cyrus had been slain and the King's armaments held the advantage, deep concern had seized those who had dared to take the field to unseat Artaxerxes from the throne.

25. Clearchus called together both the generals and commanders and took counsel with them on the situation. While they were discussing it, there came ambassadors from the King, the chief of whom was a man of Greece, Phalynus by name, who was a Zacynthian. They were introduced to the gathering and spoke as follows: "King Artexerxes says: Since I have defeated and slain Cyrus, do you surrender your arms, come to my doors, and seek how you may appease me and gain some favour." To these words each general gave a reply much like that which Leonides made when he was guarding the Pass of Thermopylae, and Xerxes sent messengers ordering him to lay down his arms.1 For Leonides at that time instructed the messengers to report to the King: "We believe that if we become friends of Xerxes, we shall be better allies if we keep our arms, and if we are forced to wage war against him, we shall fight the better if we keep them." When Clearchus had made a somewhat similar reply to the message, Proxenus the Theban said, " As things now stand. we have lost practically everything else, and all that is left to us is our valour and our arms. It is my

<sup>1</sup> See Book 11, 5, 5,

φυλάττωμεν, χρησίμην ήμεν έσεσθαι και την άρετην, αν δε παραδώμεν, ουδε ταύτην ήμεν έσεσθαι βοηθόν. διόπερ εκέλευσε τω βασιλεί λέγειν, ώς αν περί ήμων κακόν τι βουλεύηται, δια τούτων πρὸς αὐτὸν διαγωνιούμεθα περί των αγαθών των εκείνου.

δ λέγεται δὲ καὶ Σώφιλον τὸν ἐφ' ἡγεμονίας τεταγμένον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι θαυμάζει τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως λόγους: εἰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν δοκεῖ κρείσσονα τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἶναι, μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐλθὼν λαβέτω τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν ὅπλα: εἰ δὰ πείσας βούλεται, λεγέτω,

ο τίνα χάριν ήμιν άντι τούτων άξίαν δώσει. μετά δὲ τούτους Σωκράτης 'Αχαιός είπεν, ὅτι λίαν αὐτοῖς ἐκπληκτικῶς ὁ βασιλεὺς προσφέρεται ἃ μὲν γὰρ παρ' ἡμῶν βούλεται λαβεῖν παραχρῆμ' ἀπαιτεῖ, τὰ δ' ἀντὶ τούτων δοθησόμενα μετὰ ταῦτ' ἀξιοῦν² προστάττει. καθόλου δ' εἰ μὲν ἀγνοῶν τοὺς νενικηκότας ὡς ἡττημένους κελεύει τὸ προσταττόμενον ποιεῖν, μαθέτω ποτέρων ἐστὶν ἡ νίκη παραγενηθεὶς μετὰ τῆς πολυαρίθμου δυνάμεως εἰ δὲ σαφῶς ἡμῶς εἰδὼς νενικηκότας ψεύδεται, πῶς αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν εἰς ὕστερον ἐπαγγελιῶν πιστεύσομεν;

Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄγγελοι τοιαύτας ἀποκρίσεις λαβόντες ἐχωρίσθησαν· οἱ δὲ περὶ Κλέαρχον ἀνέζευξαν πρὸς τὸν σταθμόν, ὅπου τὸ διασεσωσμένον στρατόπεδον ἢν ἀνακεχωρηκός. εἰς ταὐτὸ δὲ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως ἐλθούσης, περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ θάλατταν καταβάσεως

opinion, therefore, that if we guard our arms, our 401 n.o. valour also will be useful to us, but if we give them up, then not even our valour will be of any help to us." Consequently he gave them this message to the King: "If you are plotting some evil against us, with our arms we will fight against you for your own possessions." We are told that also Sophilus, one of the commanders, said, " I am surprised at the words of the King; for if he believes that he is stronger than the Greeks, let him come with his army and take our arms away from us; but if he wishes to use persuasion, let him say what favour of equal worth he will grant us in exchange for them." After these speakers Socrates the Achaean said, "The King is certainly acting toward us in a most astounding fashion: for what he wishes to take from us he requires at once, while what will be given us in return he commands us to request of him at a later time. In a word, if it is in ignorance of who are the victors that he orders us to obey his command as though we had been defeated, let him come with his numerous host and find out on whose side the victory lies: but if, knowing well enough that we are the victors, he uses lying words, how shall we trust his later promises ?"

After the messengers had received these replies, they departed; and Clearchus marched to the stopping-place whither the troops had retired who had escaped from the battle. When the entire force had gathered in the same place, they counselled together how they should make their way back to the

<sup>1</sup> decirou Bezzel (Xen. Anab. 2. 1. 12): κοινών.
1 de cour Vogel: de corres alreir.
2 So Reiske: τοῦτο.

8 ἐβουλεύοντο κοινῆ καὶ περὶ τῆς πορείας. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἡπερ ἦλθον ποιεῖσθαι· πολύ γὰρ αὐτῆς ἡν ἔρημον, ἐν ῷ τροφὰς οὐχ ὑπελάμβανον ἔξειν, δυνάμεως πολεμίας ἀκολουθούσης. γνόντες δ' ἐπὶ Παφλαγονίας ἀναζευγινύειν, οὖτοι μὲν ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ Παφλαγονίαν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, κατὰ σχολὴν όδοιποροῦντες, ὡς ἄν ἄμα τὰς τροφὰς ποριζόμενοι.

28. 'Ο δε βασιλεύς βέλτιον έχων άπο τοῦ τραύματος, ώς επύθετο τὴν τῶν εναντίων ὑποχώρησιν, νομίσας αὐτοὺς φεύγειν, ὥρμησε μετὰ τῆς δυνά-

2 μεως κατὰ σπουδήν. καταλαβών δ' αὐτοὺς διὰ τὸ βραδέως ὁδοιπορεῖν, τότε μὲν ἥδη νυκτὸς οὕοης ἐγγὺς τὴν στρατοπεδείαν ἐποιήσατο, ἄμα δ' ἡμέρα διατασσόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ στρατόπεδον εἰς μάχην, πέμψας τοὺς ἀγγέλους κατὰ μὲν τὸ παρὸν 3 εἰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀνοχὰς ἐποιήσατο· ἐν δὲ ταύταις

δεις τρεις ημέρας ανόχας «ποιησατό" εν σε ταντάις συνεφώνησαν, ώστε αὐτόν μὲν φιλίαν παρασχέσθαι τὴν χώραν καὶ τοὺς ἡγησομένους ἐπὶ θάλατταν δοῦναι καὶ τοῦς διεξιοῦσιν άγορὰν παρέχειν, τοὺς δὲ μετὰ Κλεάρχου μισθοφόρους καὶ τοὺς μετ' 'Αριδαίου πάντας παρεύεσθαι διὰ τῆς χώρας μηδὲν

4 άδίκημα ποιούντας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦθ' οὖτοι μὲν περὶ τὰς όδοιπορίας ἐγίνοντο, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Βαβυλώνα. ἐκεῖ δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἀνδραγαθησάντων κατ' ἀξίαν ἔκαστον τιμήσας ἔκρινε πάντων ἄριοτον γεγενῆσθαι Γισσαφέρνην. διὸ καὶ μεγάλαις αὐτὸν τιμήσας δωρεαῖς ἔδωκε τὴν ἐαυτοῦ θυγατέρα πρὸς συμβίωσιν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν διετέλει πιστότατον αὐτὸν 84

sea and what route they should take. Now it was 401 a.c. agreed that they should not return by the same way they had come, since much of it was waste country where they could not expect provisions to be available with a hostile army on their heels. They resolved, therefore, to make toward Paphlagonia, and set out in that direction with the army, proceeding at a leisurely pace, since they gathered provisions as they marched.

26. The King was recovering from his wound, and when he learned that his opponents were withdrawing, he believed that they were in flight and set out in laste after them with his army. As soon as he had overtaken them because of their slow progress, for the moment, since it was night, he went into camp near them, and when day came and the Greeks were drawing up their army for battle, he sent messengers to them and for the time being agreed upon a truce of three days. During this period they reached the following agreement: The King would see that his territory was friendly to them; he would provide them guides for their journey to the sea and would supply them with provisions on the way; the mercenaries under Clearchus and all the troops under Aridacus should pass through his territory without doing any injury. After this they started on their journey, and the King led his army off to Babylon. In that city he accorded fitting honours to everyone who had performed deeds of courage in the battle and judged Tissaphernes to have been the bravest of all. Consequently he honoured him with rich gifts. gave him his own daughter in marriage, and henceforth continued to hold him as his most trusted friend;

έχων φίλον· έδωκε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὧν Κῦρος ἐπὶ θαλάττης ἡρχε σατραπειῶν.

'Ο δέ Τισσαφέρνης θεωρών τον βασιλέα δι' όργης έχοντα τους "Ελληνας, επηγγείλατ' αυτώ απαντας ανελείν, εαν αυτώ μεν δυνάμεις δώ πρός δέ 'Αριδαΐον διαλλαγή: προδοθήσεσθαι γάρ ύπο τούτου τούς Ελληνας κατά την όδοιπορίαν. ό δέ βασιλεύς ασμένως τούς λόγους δεξάμενος τούτω μεν έδωκεν εξ άπάσης της δυνάμεως επιλέξαι β τούς κρατίστους όσους προαιροίτο. γε ήγεμόσιν έλθειν και κατά πρόσωπον άκουσαι των λόγων. διόπερ οι τε στρατηγοί σχεδον απαντες μετά Κλεάρχου καὶ τῶν λοχαγῶν ώς είκοσι? πρός Τισσαφέρνην ήλθον και στρατιωτών δε πρός άγοραν ελθείν βουλομένων ήκολούθησαν ώς δια-7 κόσιοι. Τισσαφέρνης δε τους μεν στρατηγούς είς την σκηνην εκάλεσεν, οί δε λοχαγοί πρός ταις θύραις διέτριβον. καὶ μετ' ολίγον έκ της Τισσαφέρνους σκηνής άρθείσης φοινικίδος ό μεν τούς στρατηγούς ένδον συνέλαβε, τούς δέ λοχαγούς ols ήν συντεταγμένον επελθόντες ανείλου, άλλοι δέ τούς έπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ῆκοντας τῶν στρατιωτῶν άνήρουν έξ ών είς φυγών είς την ίδιαν παρεμβολήν εδήλωσε την συμφοράν.

27. Οί δε στρατιώται πυθόμενοι τὰ γεγενημένα παρ' αὐτὸν μεν τὸν καιρὸν εξεπλάγησαν καὶ πάντες 86

and he also gave him the command which Cyrus had 401 n.c.

held over the satrapies on the sea.

Tissaphernes, seeing that the King was angered at the Greeks, promised him that he would destroy them one and all, if the King would supply him with armaments and come to terms with Aridaeus, for he believed that Aridaeus would betray the Greeks to him in the course of the march. The King readily accepted this suggestion and allowed him to select from his entire army as many of the best troops as he chose. (When Tissaphernes caught up with the Greeks he sent word for Clearchus and the) 1 rest of the commanders to come to him and hear what he had to say in person. Consequently, practically all the generals, together with Clearchus and some twenty captains, went to Tissaphernes, and of the common soldiers about two hundred, who wanted to go to market, accompanied them. Tissaphernes invited the generals into his tent and the captains waited at the entrance. And after a little, at the raising of a red flag from Tissaphernes' tent, he seized the generals within, certain appointed troops fell upon the captains and slew them, and others killed the soldiers who had come to the market. Of the last, one made his escape to his camp and disclosed the disaster that had befallen them.

27. When the soldiers learned what had taken place, at the moment they were panic-stricken and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> There is clearly a break in the text, as in fact is indicated by two of the manuscripts. The words in parenthesis suffice to carry on the narrative, although a section of considerable length may have fallen out.

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf : emdefas.

<sup>\*</sup> So Wesseling: elects.

έχώρουν είς όπλα μετά πολλής άταξίας, ώς αν άναρχίας ούσης· μετά δὲ ταῦτα, ούδενὸς αὐτοῖς παρενοχλοῦντος, είλοντο στρατηγούς μὲν πλείους, ένι δε των δλων την ηγεμονίαν απέδωκαν Χειρι-2 σόφω τῶ Λακεδαιμονίω, οὖτοι δὲ διατάξαντες τὸ στρατόπεδον els την δδοιπορίαν ως ποτ' αὐτοῖς εδόκει κάλλιστα προήγον επί Παφλαγονίαν. Τισσαφέρνης δε τούς στρατηγούς δήσας απέστειλε πρός 'Αρταξέρξην' εκείνος δε τούς μεν άλλους ανείλε, Μένωνα δε μόνον αφήκεν εδόκει γαρ μόνος ούτος στασιάζων πρός τούς συμμάχους προδώσειν 3 τους Έλληνας. Τισσαφέριης δε μετά της δυνά-μεως επακολουθων τοις Ελλησιν εξήπτετο, καί κατά στόμα μέν οὐκ ἐτόλμα παρατάττεσθαι, φο-Βούμενος ἀπεγνωσμένων ἀνδρών θράσος καὶ ἀπόνοιαν. εν δε τοις εθθέτοις τόποις παρενοχλών μεγάλω μεν ούδενὶ κακώ περιβάλλειν αὐτούς ήδύνατο, μικρά δὲ βλάπτων μέχρι τοῦ τῶν Καρδούχων καλουμένων έθνους επηκολούθησεν.

Καὶ Τισσαφέρνης μὲν οὐδὲν ἔτι δυνάμενος πρᾶξαι μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπ' Ίωνίας ἀνέζευξεν· οἱ δὲ Ελληνες ἐφ' ἐπτὰ μὲν ἡμέρας διεπορεύοντο τὰ τῶν Καρδούχων ὅρη, πολλὰ κακὰ πάσχοντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀλκίμων τε ὅντων καὶ τῆς χώρας ὁ ἐμπείρων. ἡσαν δ' οὖτοι πολέμιοι μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐλεύθεροι δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον ἀσκοῦντες, μάλιστα δ' ἐκπονοῦντες σφενδόναις ὡς μεγίστους λίθους ἐμβάλλειν καὶ τοξεύμασιν ὑπερμεγέθεσι χρῆσθαι, δι' ὧν τοὺς "Ελληνας κατατιτρώσκοντες ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων τόπων πολλούς μὲν ἀνεῖλον, οὐκ

<sup>1</sup> de added by Hertlein.
<sup>2</sup> συμμάχουτ] Vogel suggests συνάρχοντας,

### BOOK XIV. 27, 1-5

all rushed to arms in great disorder, since there was on a.c. no one to command; but after this, since no one disturbed them, they elected a number of generals and put the supreme command in the hands of one, Cheirisophus the Lacedaemonian. The generals organized the army for the march on the route they thought best and proceeded toward Paphlagonia. Tissaphernes sent the generals in chains to Artaxerxes. who executed the others but spared Menon alone, since he alone, because of a quarrel with his allies,1 was thought to be ready to betray the Greeks. Tissaphernes, following with his army, clung to the Greeks, but he did not dare to meet them in battle face to face, fearing as he did the courage and recklessness of desperate men; and although he harassed them in places well suited for that purpose, he was unable to do them any great harm, but he followed them, causing slight difficulties, as far as the country of the people known as the Carduchi.

Since Tissaphernes was unable to accomplish anything further, he set out with his army for Ionia; and the Greeks made their way for seven days through the mountains of the Carduchi, suffering greatly at the hands of the natives, who were a warlike people and well acquainted with the region. They were enemies of the King and a free people who practised the arts of war, and they especially trained themselves in hurling the largest stones they could with slings and in the use of enormous arrows, with which missiles they inflicted wounds on the Greeks from advantageous positions, slaying many and seriously

<sup>1</sup> Or " with his fellow commanders "; see critical note.

<sup>\*</sup> So Hertlein: καλουμένου.

6 όλίγους δὲ κακῶς διέθεσαν. τὰ γὰρ βέλη μείζω καθεστῶτα δυεῖν πηχῶν ἔδυνε διά τε τῶν ἀσπίδων καὶ θωράκων, ὥστε μηδὲν τῶν ὅπλων ἰσχύειν τὴν βίαν αὐτῶν ὑπομένειν οὕτω γάρ φασι μεγάλοις κεχρῆσθαι οἰστοῖς, ὥστε τοὺς Ελληνας ἐναγκυλοῦντας τὰ ριπτόμενα βέλη τούτοις σαυνίοις χρωμένους 7 ἐξακοντίζειν. διελθόντες οῦν τὴν προειρημένην χώραν ἐπιπόνως παρεγενήθησαν πρὸς τὰν Κεντρίτην ποταμόν οῦν διαβάντες εἰσέβαλον εἰς τὴν ᾿Αρμενίαν. ταύτης δ᾽ ἢν σατράπης Τιρίβαζος, πρὸς ον σπεισάμενοι διεπορεύοντο τὴν χώραν ὡς

φίλοι.

28. 'Οδοιπορούντες δε δια των 'Αρμενίων δρών έλήφθησαν ύπο χιόνος πολλής, και παρεκινδύνευσαν άπολέσθαι πάντες. του γάρ άέρος τεταραγμένου τό μεν πρώτον κατ' όλίγον ήρξατο χιών πίπτειν εκ τοῦ περιέχοντος, ώστε τοὺς όδοιποροῦντας μηδέν έμποδίζεσθαι τής είς τούμπροσθεν πορείας. μετά δε ταύτα πνεύματος επιγινομένου μάλλον αίει κατερρίπτετο και την χώραν επεκάλυπτεν, ωστε μηκέτι δύνασθαι μήτε τας όδους μήτε όλο-2 σχερώς τὰς ίδιότητας τῶν τόπων θεωρεῖσθαι. διόπερ άθυμία το στρατόπεδον ύπεδύετο και δέος, ανακάμπτειν μεν els απώλειαν ου βουλομένων, προάγειν δε δια το πληθος των χιόνων ου δυναμένων. τοῦ δὲ χειμώνος ἐπίτασιν λαμβάνοντος ἐπεγενήθη πνευμάτων μέγεθος μετά πολλής χαλάζης, ώστε τοῦ συρμού κατά πρόσωπον όντος άναγκασθήναι καθίσαι την δύναμιν απασαν εκαστος γάρ την έκ της όδοιπορίας κακοπάθειαν ύπομένειν αδυνατών, οδ 3 ποτε τύχοι, μένειν ήναγκάζετο. ἀπορούντες δὲ πάν-

1 ού δυναμένων] σύτε δυναμένων AL, ού δεδυνημένων cet.

injuring not a few. For the arrows were more than 60 s.c. two cubits long 1 and pierced both the shields and breastplates, so that no armour could withstand their force; and these arrows they used were so large, we are told, that the Greeks wound thongs about those that had been shot and used them as javelins to hurl back. Now after they had traversed with difficulty the country we have mentioned, they arrived at the river Centrites, which they crossed, and entered Armenia. The satrap here was Tiribazus, with whom they made a truce and passed through his territory as friends.

28. As they made their way through the mountains of Armenia they encountered a heavy snow and the entire army came near to perishing. What happened was this. At first, when the air was stirred, the snow began to fall in light quantities from the heavens, so that the marchers experienced no trouble in their advance: but after this a wind arose and it came down heavier and heavier and so covered the ground that not only the road but even the peculiarities of the region could no longer be seen at all. Consequently despondency and fear seized the army, which was unwilling to turn back to certain destruction and unable to advance because of the heavy snow. As the storm increased in intensity, there came a great wind and heavy hail which beat in gusts on their faces and forced the entire army to come to a halt : for everyone, being unable to endure the hardship entailed in a further advance, was forced to remain wherever he happened to be. Although without supplies

<sup>1</sup> About three feet.

των των αναγκαίων εκείνην μεν την ημέραν καί την νύκτα διεκαρτέρουν ύπαίθριοι, πολλοίς συνεχόμενοι κακοίς. διά γάρ το πλήθος της κατά το συνεχές έκχεομένης χιώνος τά τε οπλα πάντα συνεκαλύφθη και τὰ σώματα διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς αἰθρίας πάγον περιεψύχετο. δια δέ την υπερβολήν των κακών δλην την νύκτα διηγρύπνουν και τινές μέν πύρ εκκαύσαντες της από τούτου βοηθείας ετύγγανον, τινές δέ περικαταληφθέντες ύπο του πάγου τά σώματα πάσαν απεγίνωσκον επικουρίαν, των ακρωτηρίων αὐτοῖς σχεδον απάντων απονεκρου-4 μένων. διόπερ ώς ή νύξ διηλθε, των θ' ύποζυγίων τὰ πλείστα εὐρέθη διεφθαρμένα καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν πολλοί μέν τετελευτηκότες, ούκ όλίγοι δέ την μέν ψυχὴν έχοντες εμφρονα, τὸ δὲ σῶμα διὰ τὸν πάγον ακίνητον ένιοι δε και τους οφθαλμούς ετυφλώθησαν διά τε τὸ ψύγος καὶ την ἀνταύγειαν της γιόνος. 5 καὶ τελείως αν απαντες διεφθάρησαν, εί μη βραγύ διελθόντες εδρον κώμας γεμούσας των επιτηδείων. αθται δε τας μεν τοις υποζυγίοις καταβάσεις είχου ορυκτάς, τὰς δὲ τοῖς ἀνδράσι κατὰ κλιμάκων . . . ταίς οἰκίαις τά τε βοσκήματα τρεφόμενα χόρτω, τοις δ' ἀνδράσι πολλην ἀφθονίαν πάντων των πρός το ζην αναγκαίων.

29. 'Εμμείναντες δε ταῖς κώμαις ἡμέρας ὀκτώ παρεγενήθησαν πρὸς τὸν Φᾶσιν ποταμόν. ἀκεῖ δε τέτταρας ἡμέρας διανύσαντες διεπορεύοντο τὴν

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: warres. 2 Standoarres] Statisfrances 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> There is clearly a lacuna in the text. Any reconstruction 92

of any kind, they stuck it out under the open sky that 401 mc. day and the following night, beset by many hardships: for because of the heavy snow which kept continually falling, all their arms were covered and their bodies were completely chilled by the frost in the air. The hardships they endured were so great that they got no sleep the entire night. Some lighted fires and got some help from them, and some, whose bodies were invaded by the frost, gave up all hope of succour, since practically all their fingers and toes were mortifying. Accordingly, when the night was past, it was found that most of the baggage animals had perished, and of the soldiers many were dead and not a few, though still conscious, could not move their bodies because of the frost; and the eyes of some were blinded by reason of the cold and the glare from the snow. And every man would certainly have perished had they not gone on a little farther and found villages full of supplies. These villages had entrances for the beasts of burden which were tunnelled under the ground and others for the human inhabitants who descended into them by ladders . . . 1 and in the houses the animals were supplied with hay, while the human inhabitants enjoyed a great abundance of all the necessities of life.

29. After they had remained in the villages eight days, they went on to the river Phasis. Here they passed four days and then made their way through

should be guided by Xenophon's description (Anab. 4. 5. 25):
"The houses here were underground, with a mouth like that of a well, but spacious below: and while entrances were tunnelled down for the beasts of burden, the human inhabitants descended by a ladder. In the houses were goats, sheep, etc." (fr. of Brownson in the L.C.L.). Such underground villages are still to be found in modern Armenia.

Χάων καὶ Φασιανών χώραν. ἐπιθεμένων δ' αὐτοῖς των έγχωρίων, τούτους μεν έν τῆ μάχη νικήσαντες πολλούς άνείλον, αὐτοί δὲ καταλαμβάνοντες τὰς των έγγωρίων κτήσεις γεμούσας αγαθών ενδιέτρι-2 ψαν εν αυταίς ήμέρας πεντεκαίδεκα, αναζεύξαντες δ' έκειθεν διηλθον την Χαλδαίων καλουμένων γώραν εν ήμεραις έπτα και παρεγενήθησαν πρός τον Αρπαγον ονομαζόμενον ποταμόν, όντα το πλάτος πλέθρων τεττάρων. έντεῦθεν δέ δια της Σκυτίνων πορευόμενοι διηλθον όδον πεδινήν, έν ή τρείς ήμέρας αύτους ανέλαβον, εύπορουντες απάντων των αναγκαίων. μετά δε ταθτ' άναζεύξαντες τεταρταΐοι παρεγενήθησαν πρὸς πόλιν μεγάλην 3 Γυμνασίαν ονομαζομένην. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ὁ τῶν τόπων τούτων άφηγούμενος έσπείσατο πρός αὐτούς και τούς όδηγησοντας επί θάλατταν συνέστησεν. ἐν ἡμέραις δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα παραγενόμενοι έπι το Χήνιον όρος, ώς είδον πορευόμενοι οι πρώτοι την θάλατταν, περιχαρείς ήσαν και τοιαύτην εποίουν κραυγήν, ώστε τους έπι της ουραγίας όντας ύπολαμβάνοντας πολεμίων έφοδον είναι χωρείν eis 4 δπλα. ώς δ' απαντες ανέβησαν επί του τόπου, εξ οδ την θάλατταν ην δράν, τοῦς θεοῦς ἀνατείναντες τάς χείρας ηθχαρίστουν ώς ήδη διασεσωσμένοι. συνενέγκαντες δ' είς ένα τόπον λίθους παμπληθείς. καὶ ποιήσαντες εξ αὐτών ἀναστήματα μεγάλα, σκύλα των βαρβάρων ανέθεσαν, βουλόμενοι της στρατείας άθάνατον υπόμνημα καταλιπείν. τῷ μὲν όδηγήσαντι φιάλην άργυρᾶν καὶ στολήν Περσικήν έδωρήσαντο δε δείξας αὐτοῖς την έπλ 5 Μάκρωνας όδον απηλλάγη, οί δ' Ελληνες είσ-

<sup>1</sup> So Wesseling: Xahridalaw P1, Xahridaw cet.

the territory of the Chaoi 1 and the Phasians. When 401 a.c. the natives attacked them, they defeated them in battle, slaving great numbers of them, seized their farms, which abounded in provisions, and spent fifteen days on them. Continuing their advance from here. they then traversed the territory of the Chaldacans, as they are called, in seven days and arrived at the river named Harpagus, which was four plethra wide. From here their advance brought them through the territory of the Scytini by a road across a plain, on which they refreshed themselves for three days, enjoying all the necessities of life in plenty. After this they set out and on the fourth day arrived at a large city which bore the name of Gymnasia. Here the ruler of these regions concluded a truce with them and furnished them guides to lead them to the sea. Arriving in fifteen days at Mt. Chenium, when the men marching in the van caught sight of the sea, they were overjoyed and raised such a cry that the men in the rear, assuming that there was an attack by enemies, rushed to arms. But when they had all got up to the place from which the sea could be seen, they raised their hands to the gods and gave thanks, believing they had now come through to safety; and gathering together into one spot a great number of stones, they formed from them great cairns on which they set up as a dedication spoils taken from the barbarians, wishing to leave an eternal memorial of their expedition. To the guide they gave as presents a silver bowl and a suit of Persian raiment; and he, after pointing out to them the road to the Macronians, took his departure. The

Probably the Taochians of Xenophon, Anab. 4. 6. 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> So Vogel: καλουμένην.

βαλόντες εἰς τὴν τῶν Μακρώνων χώραν ἐσπεἰσαντο, καὶ πρὸς πίστιν παρὰ μὲν ἐκείνων λόγχην ἔλαβον βαρβαρικήν, αὐτοὶ δ' Ἑλληνικὴν ἔδωκαν ταῦτα γὰρ ἔφασαν αὐτοῖς οἱ βάρβαροι διὰ προγόνων παραδεδόσθαι πρὸς πίστιν βεβαιότατα. ὡς δὲ τοὺς τούτων ὅρους διῆλθον, παρεγενήθησαν εἰς τὴν 6 τῶν Κόλχων χώραν. εἰς ἢν ἀθροισθέντων τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἐπ' αὐτούς, τούτους μὲν κρατήσαντες μάχη πολλοὺς ἀνεῖλαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ λύφον ὀχυρὸν καταλαβόμενοι τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθουν, καὶ τὰς ἀφελείας εἰς τοῦτον ἀθροίσαντες ἀφθόνως ἐαυτοὺς ἀνελάμβανον.

30. Εύρίσκετο δέ καὶ σμήνη παμπληθή περί

τούς τόπους, εξ ων πολυτελή προσεφέρετο κηρία. τούτων δ' οί γευσάμενοι παραλόγω περιέπιπτον συμπτώματι· οί γὰρ μεταλαβόντες αὐτῶν ἄφρονες ἐγίνοντο καὶ πίπτοντες ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὅμοιοι τοῖς 2 τετελευτηκόσιν ὑπῆρχον. πολλῶν δὲ φαγόντων διὰ τὴν γλυκύτητα τῆς ἀπολαύσεως, ταχὺ τὸ πλῆθος ἐγεγόνει τῶν πεπτωκότων οίονεὶ τροπῆς ἐν πολέμω γεγενημένης. ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν ἡθύμησεν ἡ δύναμις, καταπεπληγμένη τό τε παράδοξον καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἢτυχηκότων· τῆ δ' ὑστεραία περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥραν ἄπαντες ἐαυτούς ἀνελάμβανον καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον ἀνακτώμενοι τὸ φρονεῖν ἀνέστησαν, καὶ τὸ σῶμα διετέθησαν όμοίως τοῖς ἐκ φαρμακοποσίας διασωθεῖοιν.

3 'Ως δ' ἀνέλαβον ἐαυτοὺς ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις, ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα, Σινωπέων μὲν ἄποικον, κειμένην δ' ἐν τῆ Κόλχων χώρα. ἐνταῦθα δὲ διατρίψαντες ἡμέρας τριάκοντα, παρὰ

Greeks then entered the territory of the Macronians on s.c. with whom they concluded a truce, receiving from them as a pledge of good faith a spear used by these barbarians and giving them in return a Greek one; for the barbarians declared that such an exchange had been handed down to them from their forefathers as the surest pledge of good faith. When they had crossed the boundaries of this people, they arrived at the territory of the Colchians. When the natives gathered here against them, the Greeks overcame them in battle and slew great numbers of them, and then, seizing a strong position on a hill, they pillaged the territory, gathered their booty on the hill, and

refreshed themselves plentifully.

so. There were found in the regions great numbers of beehives which yielded valuable honey. But as many as partook of it succumbed to a strange affliction; for those who ate it lost consciousness, and falling on the ground were like dead men. Since many consumed the honey because of the pleasure its sweetness afforded, such a number had soon fallen to the ground as if they had suffered a rout in war. Now during that day the army was disheartened, terrified as it was at both the strange happening and the great number of the unfortunates; but on the next day at about the same hour all came to themselves, gradually recovered their senses, and rose up from the ground, and their physical state was like that of men recovered after a dose of a drug.

When they had refreshed themselves for three days, they marched on to the Greek city of Trapezus, which is a colony of the Sinopiaus and lies in the territory of the Colchians. Here they spent thirty days,

<sup>1</sup> The modern Trebizond.

μέν τοις έγχωρίοις λαμπρώς έξενίσθησαν, αὐτοί δέ τῶ τε Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ Διὶ Σωτηρίω θυσίαν ἐποίησαν καὶ γυμνικόν αγώνα, καθ' ον τόπον φασί προσπλεύσαι την 'Αργώ και τούς περί 'Ιάσονα. 4 έκείθεν δε Χειρίσοφον μεν τον άφηγούμενον άπέστειλαν εὶς Βυζάντιον ἐπὶ πλοῖα καὶ τριήρεις· ἔλεγε° γὰρ εἶναι φίλος 'Αναξιβίω τῷ Βυζαντίων ναυάρχω. τούτον μέν οθν έπὶ κέλητος έξέπεμψαν: λαβόντες δε των επικώπων δύο πλοιάρια παρά των Τραπεζουντίων, ελήστευον τούς περιοικούντας βαρ-5 βάρους καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. ήμέρας μέν ουν τριάκοντα περιέμειναν τον Χειρίσοφον ώς δ' εκείνος εβράδυνεν, αί δε τροφαί τοις άνθρώποις έσπάνιζον, ανέζευξαν έκ Τραπεζούντος. καί τριταΐοι παρεγενήθησαν είς Κερασούντα πόλιν Έλληνίδα, Σινωπέων αποικον. έν ταύτη δὲ ήμέρας διατρίψαντές τινας παρεγενήθησαν είς το των 6 Μοσυνοίκων έθνος. των δέ βαρβάρων συστραφέντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκράτησαν μάγη καὶ πολλοὺς άνειλον. συμφυγόντων δ' είς τι χωρίον, εν ώ κατώκουν έπτορόφους έχοντες ξυλίνους πύργους, συνεχείς προσβολάς ποιησάμενοι κατά κράτος είλον. ήν δε το χωρίον τούτο μητρόπολις των άλλων έρυμάτων, εν ῷ καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς αὐτῶν κατώκει τὸν 7 ὑψηλότατον τόπον ἔχων. ἔθος δ' ἔχει πάτριον μένειν εν αὐτῷ τὸν πάντα βίον, κάκειθεν διαδιδόναι τοις δχλοις τὰ προστάγματα. βαρβαρώτατον δ' έφασαν οί στρατιώται τούτο διεληλυθέναι το έθνος, καί ταις μέν γυναιξίν αὐτούς πλησιάζειν ἀπάντων ορώντων, τους δέ παίδας των πλουσιωτάτων

 <sup>3</sup>d Eichstüdt: ve.
 So Dindorf: &depero.

during which they were most magnificently enter- 101 s.c. tained by the inhabitants; and they offered sacrifices to Heracles and to Zeus the Deliverer and held a gymnastic contest at the place at which, men say, the Argo put in with Jason and his men. From here they dispatched Cheirisophus their commander to Byzantium to get transports and triremes, since he claimed to be a friend of Anaxibius, the admiral of the Byzantians. The Greeks sent him off on a light boat, and then, receiving from the Trapezians two small boats equipped with oars, they plundered the neighbouring burbarians both by land and by sea. Now for thirty days they waited for the return of Cheirisophus, and when he still delayed and provisions for the troops were running low, they set out from Trapezus and arrived on the third day at the Greek city of Cerasus, a colony of the Sinopians. Here they snent some days and then came to the people of the Mosynoccians. When the barbarians assembled against them, the Greeks defeated them in battle, slaying great numbers of them. And when they fled for refuge to a stronghold where they had their dwelling and which they defended with wooden towers seven stories high, the Greeks launched successive assaults upon it and took it by storm. This stronghold was the capitol of all the other walled communities and in it, in the loftiest part, their king had his dwelling. A custom, handed down from their fathers, is followed that the king must remain for his entire life in the stronghold and from it issue his commands to the people. This was the most barbarous nation, the soldiers said, that they passed through: the men have intercourse with the women in the sight of all; the children of the wealthiest are

τρέφεσθαι καρύοις έφθοῖς, ἄπαντας δ' ἐκ παιδὸς στίγμασι τόν τε νῶτον καὶ τὰ στήθη καταπεποικίλθαι. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν χώραν ἐν ἡμέραις ὀκτὼ διεπορεύθησαν, τὴν δ' ἐχομένην ἐν τρισίν,

ην ἐκάλουν Τιβαρηνήν.
31. Κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Κοτύωρα πόλιν παρεγενήθησαν Ἑλληνίδα, Σινωπέων ἄποικον. ἐν ταύτη δὲ πεντήκουθ' ἡμέρας διέτρυμαν τους περιοίκους τῆς Παφλαγονίας τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους βαρβάρους ληστεύοντες. Ἡρακλεῶται δὲ καὶ Σινωπεῖς ἀπέστειλαν αὐτοῖς πλοῖα, δι' ὧν αὐτοί τε καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα διεκομίσθησαν. ἡ δὲ Σινώπη Μιλησίων μὲν ῆν ἄποικος, κειμένη δ' ἐν τῆ Παφλαγονία μέγιστον είχεν ἀξίωμα τῶν περὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐν ἡ δὴ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔσχε Μιθριδάτης ὁ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους διαπολεμήσας τὰ μέγιστα βασίλεια. παρεγενήθη δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα Χειρίσοφος ὁ πρὸς τὰς τριήρεις ἀπεσταλμένος ἄπρακτος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οἱ Σινωπεῖς φιλοφρόνως αὐτοὺς ἕενίσαντες ἀπέπειωναν αὐτοὺς κατὰ θά-

απρακτος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οἱ' Σινωπεῖς φιλοφρόνως αὐτοὺς ξενίσαντες ἀπέπεμψαν αὐτοὺς κατὰ θά-λατταν εἰς Ἡράκλειαν, Μεγαρέων ἄποικον· καὶ καθωρμίσθη πᾶς ὁ στόλος πρὸς τὴν ᾿Αχερουσίαν χερρόνησον, ὅπου φασὶν Ἡρακλέα τὸν ἐξ Ἅιδου Κέρβερον ἀναγανεῖν. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πείπ διὰ Βιθυνίας

4 Κέρβερον ἀναγαγεῖν. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πεζη διὰ Βιθυνίας πορευόμενοι κινδύνοις περιέπιπτον, τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἐξαπτομένων κατὰ τὴν πορείαν. μόγις οὖν διεσώθησαν εἰς Χρυσόπολιν τῆς Χαλκηδονίας οἱ περιλειφθέντες ἀπὸ μυρίων ὀκτακισχίλιοι τριακόσιοι.<sup>8</sup>

δ ἐκείθεν δὲ ράδίως ήδη τό λοιπόν τινὲς μὲν διεσώθησαν εἰς τὰς πατρίδας, οί δὲ λοιποὶ περὶ τὴν nourished on boiled nuts; and they are all from their soi m.c. youth tattooed in various colours on both their back and breast. This territory they passed through in eight days and the next country, called Tibarenê, in three.

31. From there they arrived at Cotyora, a Greek city and a colony of the Sinopians. Here they spent fifty days, plundering both the neighbouring peoples of Paphlagonia and the other barbarians. And the citizens of Heracleia and Sinope sent them vessels on which both the soldiers and their pack-animals were conveyed across.1 Sinope was a colony founded by the Milesians, and situated as it was in Puphlagonia, it held first place among the cities of those regions; and it was in this city that in our day Mithridates, who went to war with the Romans, had his largest palace. And at that city also arrived Cheirisophus, who had been dispatched without success to get triremes. Nevertheless, the Sinopians entertained them in kindly fashion and sent them on their way by sea to Heracleia, a colony of the Megarians; and the entire fleet came to anchor at the peninsula of Acherusia, where, we are told, Heracles led up Cerberus from Hades. As they proceeded from there on foot through Bithynia they fell among perils, as the natives skirmished with them along their route. So they barely made their way to safety to Chrysopolis in Chalcedonia, eight thousand three hundred surviving of the original ten thousand. From there some of the Greeks got back in safety, without further trouble, to their native lands, and the rest banded

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> To Sinopé (Xenophon, Anab. 6, 1, 14-15).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οἱ Dindorf, οἱ μὰν ἄλλοι P¹, οἱ μὰν οῦν ἄλλοι cet.
<sup>8</sup> So Dindorf (ch. 37. I): τριοχίλιοι οκτακόσιοι.

Χερρόνησον άθροισθέντες επόρθουν την παρακειμένην Θρακῶν χώραν.

Ή μεν οδν επ' 'Αρταξέρξην Κύρου στρατεία

τοιούτον έσχε τὸ τέλος.

- 32. Οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς ᾿Αθήναις δυναστεύοντες τριάκοντα τύραννοι καθ' ἡμέραν οὐκ ἐπαύοντο τοὺς μὲν φυγαδεύοντες, τοὺς δὲ ἀναιροῦντες. τῶν δὲ Θηβαίων ἀγανακτούντων ἐπὶ τοῖς γινομένοις καὶ φιλοφρόνως τοὺς φυγάδας ὑποδεχομένων, Θρασύβουλος Στιριεὺς ὀνομαζόμενος, ὢν ᾿Λθηναῖος, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα πεφυγαδευμένος, συνεργούντων αὐτῷ λάθρα τῶν Θηβαίων κατελάβετο τῆς ᾿Λττικῆς χωρίον ὀνομαζόμενον Φυλήν. ἦν δὲ τὸ φρούριον ὀχυρόν τε σφόδρα καὶ τῶν ᾿Αθηνῶν ἀπέχον σταδίους ἐκατόν, ὤστε πολλὰς ἀφορμὸς αὐτοῖς παρ-
- 2 έχεσθαι πρός τὴν ἔφοδον. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα τύραννοι πυθόμενοι τὸ γεγονὸς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐξήγαγον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὴν δύναμιν ὡς πολιορκήσοντες τὸ χωρίον πλησίον δὲ τῆς Φυλῆς αὐτῶν στρατοπεδευόντων
- 3 ἐπεγενήθη πολὺς νιφετός. και τινων ἐπιχειρησάντων μετασκηνοῦν, οἱ πολλοὶ φεύγειν αὐτοὺς ὑπἐλαβον καὶ πλησίον τινὰ πολεμίαν δύναμιν εἰναιἐμπεσόντος δὲ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον θορύβου τοῦ καλουμένου Πανικοῦ μετεστρατοπέδευσαν εἰς ἔτερον τόπον.

4 'Οι δε τριάκοντα θεωρούντες τους πολίτας εν 'Αθήναις, όσοι μή μετείχον τῆς τῶν τρισχιλίων πολιτείας, μετεώρους ὅντας πρὸς τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς

<sup>1</sup> χώραν Wesseling: πόλω.

together around the Chersonesus and laid waste the 401 n.c. adjoining territory of the Thracians.

Such, then, was the outcome of the campaign of

Cyrus against Artaxerxes.

32. In Athens the Thirty Tyrants, who were in supreme control, made no end of daily exiling some citizens and putting to death others. When the Thebans were displeased at what was taking place and extended kindly hospitality to the exiles,1 Thrasybulus of the deme of Stiria, as he was called, who was an Athenian and had been exiled by the Thirty, with the secret aid of the Thebans seized a stronghold in Attica called Phyle. This was an outpost, which was not only very strong but was also only one hundred stades distant from Athens, so that it afforded them many advantages for attack. The Thirty Tyrants, on learning of this act, at first led forth their troops against the band with the intention of laying siege to the stronghold. But while they were encamped near Phyle there came a heavy snow, and when some set to work to shift their encampment, the majority of the soldiers assumed that they were taking to flight and that a hostile force was at hand; and the uproar which men call Panic struck the army and they removed their camp to another place.

The Thirty, seeing that those citizens of Athens who enjoyed no political rights in the government of the three thousand a were clated at the prospect of the overthrow of their control of the state, trans-

Here and often below the word translated "exile" may include not only those who had been legally sentenced to exile but also others who had voluntarily fled Athens.

<sup>a</sup> These were chosen by the Thirty, as Xenophon states

(Hell. 2. 3. 18), to "share in the government."

δυναστείας, μετώκισαν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν Πειραιά, και τοις ξενικοίς οπλοις διακατείγον την πόλιν. Ελευσινίους δέ και Σαλαμινίους αlτιασάμενοι τά ε των φυνάδων φρονείν, απαντας ανείλον, τούτων δέ πραττομένων πολλοί των φυγάδων συνέρρεον πρός τους περί Θρασύβουλον . . . φανερίος μέν περί τινων αίγμαλώτων διαλεξόμενοι, λάθρα δέ συμβουλεύειν αύτωι διαλύσαι το συνεστηκός φυγαδικόν και μεθ' έαυτών τής πόλεως δυναστεύειν άντι Θπραμένους προταιρεθέντα, λαβείν δ' έξουσίαν δέκα των φυγάδων ους αν προαιρήται κατ-6 άγειν είς την πατρίδα. ὁ μεν Θρασύβουλος εφησε προκρίνειν την έαυτου φυγήν της των τριάκοντα δυναστείας, και τον πόλεμον ου καταλύσειν, εί μή πάντες οι πολίται κατέλθωσι και την πάτριον πολιτείαν ὁ δημος ἀπολάβη. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα θεωρούντες πολλούς μεν άφ' έαυτών άφισταμένους διά το μίσος, τους δέ φυγάδας άει πλείους γινομένους, απέστειλαν είς Σπάρτην πρέσβεις περί βοηθείας, αὐτοὶ δ' όσους ηδύναντο πλείστους άθροίσαντες έν ύπαίθρω περιεστρατοπέδευσαν περί τὰς ονομαζομένας 'Αχαρνάς.

33. 'Ο δε Θρασύβουλος την ίκανην φυλακήν τοῦ χωρίου καταλιπών εξήγαγε τοὺς φυγάδας, ὅντας χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους επιθέμενος δε τῆ τῶν ἐναντίων παρεμβολῆ νυκτὸς ἀπροσδοκήτως καὶ συχνοὺς ἀποκτείνας, τοὺς ἄλλους διὰ τὸ παράδοξον εξέπληξε καὶ φυγεῖν εἰς 'Αθήνας ἡνάγκασεν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν

2 καὶ φυγεῖν εἰς 'Αθήνας ἡνάγκασεν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ὁ Θρασύβουλος εὐθὺς μὲν ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ κατελάβετο τὴν Μουνυχίαν, λόφον

τὸ after αὐτῷ deleted by Dindorf.
 So Dindorf, omitted FJK, προαιρεθέντα cel.

ferred them to the Peiracus and maintained their 401 ho. control of the city by means of mercenary troops; and accusing the Eleusians and Salaminians of siding with the exiles, they put them all to death. While these things were being done, many of the exiles flocked to Thrasybulus; (and the Thirty dispatched ambassadors to Thrasybulus) publicly to treat with him about some prisoners, but privately to advise him to dissolve the band of exiles and to associate himself with the Thirty in the rule of the city, taking the place of Theramenes; and they promised further that he could have licence to restore to their native land any ten exiles he chose. Thrusybulus replied that he preferred his own state of exile to the rule of the Thirty and that he would not end the war unless all the citizens returned from exile and the people got back the form of government they had received from their fathers. The Thirty, seeing many revolting from them because of hatred and the exiles growing ever more numerous, dispatched ambassadors to Sparta for aid, and meanwhile themselves gathered as many troops as they could and pitched a camp in the open country near Acharnae, as it is called.

33. Thrasybulus, leaving behind an adequate guard at the stronghold, led forth the exiles, twelve hundred in number, and delivering an unexpected attack by night on the camp of his opponents, he slew a large number of them, struck terror into the rest by his unexpected move, and forced them to flee to Athens. After the battle Thrasybulus set out straightway for the Peiraeus and seized Munychia, which was an

1 f.s. Phyle.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A statement to this general effect must have been in the Greek.

ξρημον και καρτερόν, οί δὲ τύραννοι τῆ δυνάμει πάση καταβάντες είς τον Πειραιά προσέβαλον τῆ Μουνυχία, Κριτίου την ήγεμονίαν έχοντος. ἐπὶ πολύν δέ χρόνου τῆς μάχης καρτερᾶς γενομένης, οι μεν τύραννοι τοῖς πλήθεσιν ύπερεῖχον, οι δὲ 3 φυγάδες τη των τόπων όχυρότητι. τέλος δέ Κριτίου πεσόντος οί μετά των τριάκοντα κατεπλάγησαν καὶ πρός τους δμαλωτέρους τόπους κατέφυγον, οὐ τολμώντων τῶν φυγάδων εἰς ἐκείνους καταβαίνειν. μετά δὲ ταῦτα συχνών άφισταμένων πρός τους φυγάδας, οί περί τον Θρασύβουλον έξαίόνης επέθεντο τοις εναντίοις, και μάχη κρατή-4 σαντες εκυρίευσαν του Πειραιώς. ευθύ δε πολλοί μέν των έκ της πόλεως επιθυμούντες απαλλαγήναι της τυραννίδος συνέρρεον είς τον Πειραιά, πάντες δ' οί κατά τὰς πόλεις διερριμμένοι φυγάδες άκούουτες τὰ προτερήματα τῶν περί Θρασύβουλον, ήκον είς Πειραιά, και το λοιπον ήδη πολύ ταις δυνάμεσιν οί φυγάδες ύπερείχον διό και πολιορκείν την πόλιν ἐπεγείρησαν.

5 Οἱ δ' εν ταις 'Αθήναις τοὺς μεν τριάκοντα τῆς άρχῆς παύσαντες εκ τῆς πόλεως εξέπεμψαν, δέκα δ' άνδρας κατέστησαν αὐτοκράτορας, εἰ δύναιντο, μάλιστα φιλικῶς διαλύεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον. οῦτοι δὲ παραλαβόντες τὴν ἀρχὴν τούτων μὲν ἡμέλησαν, έαυτοὺς δὲ τυράννους ἀποδείξαντες ἀπὸ Λακεδαίμονος τετταράκοντα ναις μετεπέμψαντο καὶ στραθτιώτας χιλίους, ὧν ἦρχε Λύσανδρος. Παυσανίας δὲ ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς, φθονῶν μὲν τῷ Λυσάνδρω, θεωρῶν δὲ τὴν Σπάρτην ἀδοξοῦσαν παρὰ τοις Ελλησιν, ἀνέζευξε μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς, καὶ παραγενηθεὶς εἰς Αθήνας διήλλαξε τοὺς

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uninhabited and strong hill; and the Tyrants with 401 a.c. all the troops at their disposal went down to the Peiracus and attacked Munychia, under the command of Critias. In the sharp battle which continued for a long time the Thirty held the advantage in numbers and the exiles in the strength of their position. At last, however, when Critias fell, the troops of the Thirty were dismayed and fled for safety to more level ground, the exiles not during to come down against them. When after this great numbers went over to the exiles, Thrusybulus made an unexpected attack upon his opponents, defeated them in battle, and became master of the Peiracus. At once many of the inhabitants of the city 1 who wished to be rid of the tyranny flocked to the Peiraeus and all the exiles who were scattered throughout the cities of Greece, on hearing of the successes of Thrasybulus, came to the Peiraeus, so that from now on the exiles were far superior in force. In consequence they began to lay siege to the city.

The remaining citizens in Athens now removed the Thirty from office and sent them out of the city, and then they elected ten men with supreme power first and foremost to put an end to the war, in any way possible, on friendly terms. But these men, as soon as they had succeeded to office, paid no attention to these orders, but established themselves as tyrants and sent to Lacedaemon for forty warships and a thousand soldiers, under the command of Lysander. But Pausanius, the king of the Lacedaemonians, being jealous of Lysander and observing that Sparta was in ill repute among the Greeks, marched forth with a strong army and on his arrival in Athens brought

έν τῆ πόλει πρὸς τοὺς φυγάδας. διόπερ 'Αθηναΐοι μὲν ἐκομίσαντο τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς ιδίοις νόμοις ἐπολιτεύοντο, τοῖς δ' εὐλαβουμένοις, μή τι πάθωσι διὰ τὰ γενόμενα κατὰ τὰ συνεχὲς αὐτῶν ἀδικήματα, τὴν 'Ελευσίνα κατοικεῖν συνεχώ-

ρησαν.

34. Ἡλεῖοι δὲ φοβηθέντες τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμουίων ὑπεροχήν, κατέλυσαν τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πάλεμον, ἐφ' ὧ τὰς τριήρεις δοῦναι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὰς περιοικούσας πόλεις αὐτονόμους ἀφεῖναι.

2 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καταλελυκότες τοὺς πολέμους καὶ σχολήν ἔχοντες ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίους, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἐν Κεφαλληνία φρούριόν τι κατώκουν, οἱ δὲ Ναύπακτον ἐν τοῖς προσεσπερίοις λεγομένοις Λοκροῖς, δόντων ᾿Αθηναίων. ἐκβαλόντες δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν τόπων ἀπέδωκαν τὰ φρούρια, τὰ μὲν τοῖς 3 τὴν Κεφαλληνίαν οἰκοῦσι, τὰ δὲ τοῖς Λοκροῖς. οἱ

3 τήν Κεφαλληνιαν οικουσι, το σε τοις Λοκροις. σε δε Μεσσήνιοι διά τό παλαιόν πρός τούς Σπαρτιάτας μίσος πανταχόθεν έλαυνόμενοι, μετά τῶν ὅπλων ἀπηλλάγησαν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καὶ τινὲς μὲν αὐτῶν πλεύσαντες εἰς Σικελίαν ἐγένοντο Διονυσίου μισθοφόροι, τινὲς δ' εἰς Κυρήνην ἔπλευσαν, περὶ τρισχιλίους ὅντες, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ φυγάδων ἐτάχθησαν.

 οἱ γὰρ Κυρηναῖοι κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ἐν ταραχῆ καθειστήκεισαν, 'Αρίστωνος καί τινων ἐτέρων κατειληφότων τὴν πόλιν. προσφάτως μὲν πεντακόσιοι οἱ δυνατώτατοι τῶν Κυρηναίων ἀνήρηντο,

5 τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐπεφεύγεισαν οἱ χαριέστατοι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οἱ φυγάδες προσλαμβανόμενοι τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> οῦ μὴν άλλ' οἱ Dindorf : οἱ μὰν ἄλλοι.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 11. 84. 7.

about a reconciliation between the men in the city on and the exiles. As a result the Athenians got back their country and henceforth conducted their government under laws of their own making; and the men who lived in fear of punishment for their unbroken series of past crimes they allowed to make their home in Eleusis.

34. The Eleians, because they stood in fear of the superior strength of the Lacedaemonians, brought the war with them to an end, agreeing that they would surrender their triremes to the Lacedacmonians and let the neighbouring cities go free. And the Lacedaemonians, now that they had brought their wars to an end and were no longer concerned with them, advanced with their army against the Messenians, of whom some were settled in an outpost on Cophallenia and others in Naupactus, which the Athenians had given them, among the western Driving the Messenians from these regions, they returned the one outpost to the inhabitants of Cephallenia and the other to the Locrians. The Messenians, being now driven from every place because of their ancient hatred of the Spartans, departed with their arms from Greece, and some of them, sailing to Sicily, took service as mercenaries with Dionysius, while others, about three thousand in number, sailed to Cyrcne and joined the forces of exiles there. For at that time disorder had broken out among the Cyrenaeans, since Ariston, together with certain others, had seized the city. Of the Cyrenaeans, five hundred of the most influential citizens had recently been put to death and the most respected among the survivors had been banished. The exiles now added the Messenians to their number

Μεσσηνίους παρετάξαντο πρός τοὺς τὴν πόλιν κατειληφότας, καὶ τῶν μὲν Κυρηναίων πολλοὶ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις ἔπεσον, οἱ δὲ Μεσσήνιοι σχεδὸν ἄπαντες 6 ἀνηρέθησαν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν παράταξιν οἱ Κυρηναίοι πρός ἀλλήλους διαπρεσβευσάμενοι διηλλάγησαν, καὶ παραχρῆμα ὁρκωμοτήσαντες μὴ μνησικακήσειν, κοινή τὴν πόλιν κατώκησαν.

7 Περί δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους 'Ρωμαῖοι προσέθηκαν οἰκήτορας εἰς τὰς ὀνομαζομένας Οὐελί-

TPUS.

35. Τοῦ δ' ἔτους τούτου διελθόντος 'Αθήνησι μὲν ήρχε Λάχης, εν δε τη 'Ρώμη την υπατον άρχην διώκουν χιλίαρχοι, Μάνιος Κλώδιος, Μάρκος Κοΐντιος, Λεύκιος Ιούλιος, Μάρκος Φούριος, Λεύκιος Ουαλέριος, έγενήθη δέ και 'Ολυμπιάς πέμπτη πρός ταις ένενήκοντα, καθ' ην ένικα στάδιον Μίνως 'Αθη-2 ναίος. κατά δε τούτους τούς χρόνους 'Αρταξέρξης μέν ό της 'Ασίας βασιλεύς καταπεπολεμηκώς Κύρον απεστάλκει Τισσαφέρνην παραληψόμενον πάσας τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάττη σατραπείας. διόπερ οἰ Κύρω συμμαχήσαντες σατράπαι καὶ πόλεις ἐν ἀγωνία πολλή καθειστήκεισαν, μήποτε δῶσι τιμω-8 ρίαν ύπερ ων εξήμαρτον els τον βασιλέα. οι μεν ούν άλλοι σατράπαι διαπρεσβευσάμενοι πρός Τισσαφέρνην εξεθεράπευον καὶ τὰ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐτίθεντο πρός αυτόν, όπως ποτ' ήσαν δυνατοί. Ταμώς δέ, μέγιστος ων αὐτων καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίας ἀφηγούμενος, είς τὰς τριήρεις ενέθετο τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς νίοὺς άπαντας πλήν ένος του καλουμένου μέν Γλου μετά δέ τινας χρόνους άφηγησαμένου των βασιλικών 4 δυνάμεων. εὐλαβηθείς οὖν ὁ Ταμώς τὸν Τισσαand joined battle with the men who had seized the on me. city, and many of the Cyrenaeans were slain on both sides, but the Messenians were killed almost to a man. After the battle the Cyrenaeans negotiated with each other and agreed to be reconciled, and they immediately swore oaths not to remember past injuries and lived together as one body in the city.

At this same time the Romans increased the number of colonists in the city known as Velitrae.

35. At the close of this year, in Athens Laches was 400 a.c. archon and in Rome the consulship was administered by military tribunes, Manius Claudius, Marcus Quinctius, Lucius Julius, Marcus Furius, and Lucius Valerius 1; and the Ninety-fifth Olympiad was held, that in which Minos of Athens won the "stadion." This year Artanerxes, the King of Asia, after his defeat of Cyrus, had dispatched Tissaphernes to take over all the satraples which bordered on the sea. Consequently the satraps and cities which had allied themselves with Cyrus were in great suspense, lest they should be punished for their offences against the King. Now all the other satraps, sending ambassadors to Tissaphernes, paid court to him and in every way possible arranged their affairs to suit him; but Tamos, the most powerful satrap, who commanded Ionia, put on triremes his possessions and all his sons except one whose name was Glos and who became later commander of the King's armaments. Tamos

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Livy (5. 1) gives the names as M. Aemilius Mamercus, L. Valerius Potitus, Ap. Claudius Crassus, M. Quinctilius Varus, L. Iulius Iulius, M. Postumius, M. Furius Camillus, and M. Postumius Albinus.

So Wesseling: Φαρνάβαζον.
So Wesseling: γάου.

φέρνην ἀπήρεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον μετὰ τοῦ στόλου, καὶ κατέφυγε πρὸς Ψαμμήτιχον τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ἀπόγονον ὅντα τοῦ Ψαμμητίχου. οὕσης δ' αὐτῷ προγεγενημένης εὐεργεσίας εἰς τὸν βασιλέα, διελάμβανε τοῦτον ἔξειν οἰόν τινα λιμένα τῶν 6 ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως κινδύνων. ὁ δὲ Ψαμμήτιχος τήν τε εὐεργεσίαν καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἰκέτας ὅσιον παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγησάμενος ἀπέσφαξε τὸν ἰκέτην καὶ φίλον μετὰ τῶν τέκνων, ὅπως τῶν τε χρημάτων

6 Αί δέ κατά την 'Ασίαν 'Ελληνίδες πόλεις πυν-

καὶ τοῦ στόλου γένηται κύριος.

θανόμεναι τὴν τοῦ Τισσαφέρνους κατάβασιν, περὶ σφῶν ἀγωνιῶσαι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔπεμψαν πρέσβεις, δεόμεναι μὴ περιιδεῖν ἐαυτὰς ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀναστάτους γινομένας. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι βοηθήσειν ἐπαγγειλάμενοι πρὸς Τισσαφέρνην ἔπεμψαν πρέσβεις τοὺς ἐροῦντας μὴ ὅπλα πολέμια ἐπιφέρειν ταῖς Ἑλληνίσι πόλεσιν. Τισσαφέρνης δὲ μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐπὶ πρώτην ἐλθῶν τὴν Κυμαίων πόλιν τήν τε χώραν ἐπόρθησεν ἄπασαν καὶ πολλῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συγκλείσας αὐτοὺς εἰς πολιορκίαν, ὡς ὁ μὰν χειμῶν συνήγγισε, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐλεῖν οὐκ ἡδύνατο, τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀπελύτρωσε καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἔλυσεν.

38. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς βασιλέα πόλεμον Θίβρωνα καταστήσαντες ἡγεμόνα χιλίους μὲν τῶν πολιτῶν ἔδωκαν, παρὰ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων then, in fear of Tissaphernes, sailed off with his fleet 400 n.c. to Egypt and sought safety with Psammetichus, the king of the Egyptians, who was a descendant of the famous Psammetichus. Because of a good turn he had done the king in the past, Tamös believed that he would find in him a haven, as it were, from the perils he faced from the King of Persia. But Psammetichus, completely ignoring both the good turn and the hallowed obligation due to suppliants, put to the sword the man who was his suppliant and friend, together with his children, in order to take for his

own both Tamös' possessions and his fleet.

When the Greek cities of Asia learned that Tissaphernes was on his way, they were deeply concerned for their future and dispatched ambassadors to the Lacedacmonians, begging them not to allow the cities to be laid waste by the harbarians. The Lacedacmonians promised to come to their aid and sent ambassadors to Tissaphernes to warn him not to commit any acts of aggression against the Greek cities. Tissaphernes, however, advancing with his army against the city of the Cymacans first, both plundered its entire territory and got possession of many captives; after this he laid siege to the Cymacans, but on the approach of winter, since he was unable to capture the city, he released the captives for a heavy ransom and raised the siege.

36. The Lacedaemonians appointed Thibron commander of the war against the King, gave him a thousand soldiers from their own citizens,2 and

3 Xenophon (Hell, S. 1. 4) says that these were emancipated

Helots.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Psammetichus I (664-610 s.c.), the founder of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, who fostered trade relations with the Greeks (cp. Herodotus, 2. 151-154).

εκέλευσαν στρατολογείν οσους αν αυτώ φαίνηται 2 συμφέρειν. ο δε Θίβρων πορευθείς είς Κόρινθον, κάκει παρά των συμμάχων μεταπεμψάμενος στρατιώτας, εξέπλευσεν είς "Εφεσον έχων ου πλείους πεντακισχιλίων. έκει δέ έκ τε των ιδίων πόλεων και των άλλων ώς δισχιλίους καταγράψας, άνέζευξε τους πάντας έχων πλείους έπτακισχιλίων. διελθών δ' ώς έκατον είκοσι σταδίους προς Μαγνησίαν ήκεν, ής ήρχε Τισσαφέρνης ταύτην δ' έξ έφόδου παραλαβών, και ταχέως έπι Τράλλεις της Ιωνίας πορευθείς, επεγείρησε πυλιορκείν την πύλιν. ούδεν δε δυνάμενος πράξαι δι' όχυρότητα, πάλιν 3 eis Μαγνησίαν απεχώρησεν. ταύτης δ' ούσης άτειγίστου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φοβούμενος μήποτε γωρισθέντος αὐτοῦ κυριεύση της πόλεως ο Τισσαφέρνης, μετώκισεν αὐτὴν πρός το πλησίον όρος, δ καλούσι Θώρακα αύτος δ' έμβαλών είς την τών πολεμίων χώραν τούς στρατιώτας ενέπλησε παντοίας ώφελείας. Τισσαφέρνους δέ μετά πολλής εππου παραγενομένου διευλαβηθείς ανέστρεψεν είς EDECOV.

37. Περὶ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τῶν ἐστρατευμένων μετὰ Κύρου καὶ διασωθέντων εἰς τὴν
'Ελλάδα τινὲς μὲν εἰς τὰς ἰδίας πατρίδας ἀπηλλάγησαν, οἱ δὲ πλεῦστοι στρατιωτικὸν εἰθισμένοι ζῆν
βίον, καὶ σχεδὸν ὅντες πεντακισχίλιοι, στρατηγόν
2 αὐτῶν εἴλοντο Ξενοφῶντα. δς ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ὥρμησε πολεμήσων Θρῆκας τοὺς περὶ τὸν
Σαλμυδησσὸν οἰκοῦντας οὖτος δ' ἔστι μὲν ἐπ'
ἀριστερὰ τοῦ Πόντου, παρεκτείνων δ' ἐπὶ πολὸ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. chaps. 19-31.

ordered him to enlist as many troops from their allies 400 a.c. as he should think desirable. Thibron, after going to Corinth and summoning soldiers from the allies to that city, set sail for Ephesus with not more than five thousand troops. Here he enrolled some two thousand soldiers from his own and other cities and then marched forth with a total force of over seven thou-Advancing some one hundred and twenty stades, he came to Magnesia which was under the government of Tissaphernes; taking this city at the first assault, he then advanced speedily to Tralles in Ionia and began to lay siege to the city, but when he was unable to achieve any success because of its strong position, he turned back to Magnesia. And since the city was unwalled and Thibron therefore feared that at his departure Tissaphernes would get control of it, he transferred it to a neighbouring hill which men call Thorax; then Thibron, invading the territory of the enemy, glutted his soldiers with booty of every kind. But when Tissaphernes arrived with strong cavalry forces, he withdrew for security to Ephesus.

37. At this same time a group of the soldiers who had served in the campaign with Cyrus 1 and had got back safe to Greece went off each to his own country, but the larger part of them, about five thousand in number, since they had become accustomed to the life of a soldier, chose Xenophon for their general. And Xenophon with this army set out to make war on the Thracians who dwell around Salmydessus. The territory of this city, which lies on the left side of the Pontus, stretches for a great distance and

A city on the west shore of the Black Sca some sixty miles from the Bosphorus.

3 πλείστα ποιεί ναυάγια. οι μεν ούν Θράκες εἰώθεισαν περὶ τούτους τοὺς τόπους ἐφεδρεύοντες τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας τῶν ἐμπόρων αἰχμαλωτίζειν· ἀ δὲ Ξενοφῶν μετὰ τῶν συνηθροισμένων στρατιωτῶν ἐμβαλῶν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν χώραν μάχη τε ἐνίκησε

4 καὶ τὰς πλείστας τῶν κωμῶν ἐνέπρησεν μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Θίβρωνος αὐτοὺς μεταπεμπομένου καὶ μισθοὺς ἐπαγγελλομένου δώσειν, πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀπεχώρησαν καὶ μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπολέμουν τοῖς Πέρσαις.

Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων Διοινόσιος μὲν ἐν τῆ Σικελία πόλιν ἔκτισεν ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν τῆς Λἴτνης λόφον, καὶ ἀπό τινος ἐπιφανοῦς ἱεροῦ προυηγό-

6 ρευσεν αὐτὴν "Αδρανον. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μακεδονίαν 'Αρχέλαος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔν τινι κυνηγίω πληγεὶς ἀκουσίως ὑπὸ Κρατεροῦ τοῦ ἐρωμένου τὸν βίον μετήλλαξε, βασιλεύσας ἔτη ἐπτά· τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν διεδέξατο 'Ορέστης παῖς ὤν, ôν ἀνελὼν 'Αέροπος

7 ἐπίτροπος ὧν κατέσχε τὴν βασιλείαν ἔτη ἔξ. ᾿Αθήνησι δὲ Σωκράτης ὁ φιλόσοφος ὑπ' ᾿Ανύτου καὶ
Μελήτου κατηγορηθεὶς ἐπ' ἀσεβεία καὶ φθορὰ τῶν
νέων, θανάτω κατεδικάσθη καὶ πιῶν κώνειον
ἐτελεύτησεν. ἀδίκου δὲ τῆς κατηγορίας γεγενημένης ὁ δῆμος μετεμελήθη, τηλικοῦτον ἄνδρα
θεωρῶν ἀνηρημένον διόπερ τοὺς κατηγορήσαντας
δι' ὀργῆς εἶχε καὶ τέλος ἀκρίτους ἀπέκτεινεν.

38. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν 'Αριστοκράτης παρέλαβεν, ἐν

<sup>&#</sup>x27; Kenophon (Anab. 7. 5. 12) states that "shoals extend far and wide."

is the cause of many shipwreeks. Accordingly the 400 me. Thracians made it their practice to lie in wait in those parts and seize the merchants who were east ashore as prisoners. Xenophon with the troops he had gathered invaded their territory, defeated them in battle, and burned most of their villages. After this, when Thibron sent for the soldiers with the promise to hire them, they withdrew to join him and made war with the Lacedacmonians against the Persians.

While these events were taking place, Dionysius founded in Sicily a city just below the crest of Mount Aetne and named it Adranum, after a certain famous temple.\* In Macedonia King Archelaüs was unintentionally struck while hunting by Craterus, whom he loved, and met his end, after a reign of seven? years. He was succeeded on the throne by Orestes, who was still a boy and was slain by Aëropus, his guardian, who held the throne for six years. In Athens Socrates the philosopher, who was accused by Anytus and Meletus of impiety and of corrupting the youth, was condemned to death and met his end by drinking the hemlock. But since the accusation had been undeserved, the people repented, considering that so great a man had been put to death; consequently they were angered at the accusers and ultimately put them to death without trial.4

38. At the end of the year in Athens Aristocrates 309 ma

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> That of the god Adranus, the reputed father of the Palici, who were worshipped throughout all Sicily. See Book 11. 88. 6-89; Plutarch, Timoleon, 12. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Archelaus was king 413-399 n.c.

This statement is to be doubted in the case of Meletus and is definitely false with respect to the other accusers of Socrates.

Ρώμη δὲ τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἀρχὴν εξ χιλίαρχοι διεδέξαντο, Γάιος Σερουίλιος καὶ Λούκιος Οὐεργίνιος, Κόιντος Σουλπίκιος, Αῦλος Μουτίλιος, Μάνιος

Κοιντος Σουλπικίος, Αυλος Μουτίλιος, Μάνιος Σέργιος. τούτων δε την άρχην παρειληφότων Λακεδαιμόνιοι πυθόμενοι του Θίβρωνα κακώς διοικοῦντα τὰ κατὰ τον πόλεμον, Δερκυλίδαν στρατηγον εἰς την 'Ασίαν εξέπεμψαν' ος παραλαβών την δύναμιν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν τῆ Τρφάδι πόλεις.

8 'Αμάξιτον' μέν οὖν καὶ Κολώνας καὶ 'Αρίσβαν εἶλεν ἐξ ἐφόδου· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα 'Ίλιον καὶ Κεβρηνίαν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀπάσας τὰς κατὰ τὴν Τρωάδα ἄς μὲν δόλω παρέλαβεν, ᾶς δ' ἐκ βίας ἐχειρώσατο. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς Φαρνάβαζον ὀκταμηνιαίους ἀνοχὰς ποιησάμενος, ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Θρᾶκας τοὺς περὶ Βιθυνίαν τότε κατοικοῦντας πορθήσας δ' αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν ἀπήγαγε τὴν δύναμιν εἰς παραχειμασίαν.

4 Έν Ἡρακλεία δὲ τῆ περὶ Τραχῖνα στάσεως γενομένης Ἡριππίδαν ἐξέπεμψαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καταστήσοντα τὰ πράγματα. δς παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἡράκλειαν συνήγαγεν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὰ πλήθη, καὶ περιστήσας αὐτοῖς ὁπλίτας συνέλαβε τοὺς αἰτίους καὶ πάντας ἀνεῖλεν, ὅντας περὶ πενταε κοσίους. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὴν Οἴτην κατοικούντων

αποστάντων ἐπολέμησεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ πολλοῖς περιβαλὼν κακοῖς ἡνάγκασεν ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν χώραν· ὧν οἱ πλεῖστοι μετὰ τῶν τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν ἔφυγον εἰς Θεσσαλίαν, καὶ μετὰ πέντε ἔτη κατήχθησαν ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν.

1 So Rhodoman : dváfirov.

<sup>\*</sup> adrois όπλίτας Hertlein (ch. 4. 6; Bk. 15. 7h. 1): ἐν τοῖς ὁπλοις.

magistracy was taken over by six military tribunes, so e.c. Gaius Servilius, Lucius Verginius, Quintus Sulpicius, Aulus Mutilius, and Manius Sergius.1 After these magistrates had entered office the Lacedaemonians. learning that Thibron was conducting the war inefficiently, dispatched Dercylidas as general to Asia; and he took over the army and advanced against the cities in the Troad. Now Hamaxitus and Colonae and Arisba he took at the first assault, then Ilium and Cerbenia and all the rest of the cities of the Troad. occupying some by craft and conquering the others by force. After this he concluded an armistice of eight months with Pharnabazus and advanced against the Thracians who were dwelling at that time in Bithynia; and after laying waste their territory he led his army off into winter quarters.

In Trachinian Heracleia civil discord had arisen and the Lacedaemonians sent Herippidas there to restore order. As soon as Herippidas arrived in Heracleia he called an assembly of the people, and surrounding them with his hoplites, he arrested the authors of the discord and put them all to death, some five hundred in number. And since the inhabitants about Oeté had revolted, he made war on them, subjected them to many hardships, and forced them to leave their land. The majority of them, together with their children and wives, fled into Thessaly, from where they were restored to their homes five years

later by the Bocotians.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> There are only five names and the MSS vary greatly. Livy (5. 8) lists Gaius Servilius Ahala, Quintus Servilius, Lucius Verginius, Quintus Sulpicius, Aulus Manlius, and Manius Sergius.

<sup>3</sup> So Dindorf: als Bourrian. Vogel suggests els Olralan.

6 Τούτων δε πραττομένων Θράκες πολλοίς πλήθεσιν ενέβαλον είς την Χερρόνησον καὶ την χώραν πασαν πορθήσαντες τειχήρεις συνείχον τας έν αὐτη πόλεις. οι δε Χερρονησίται πιεζόμενοι τῶ πολέμω μετεπέμψαντο Δερκυλίδαν τον Λακεδαιμόνιον έκ 7 της 'Ασίας. ούτος δὲ διαβάς μετά της δυνάμεως τούς μέν Θράκας εξήλασεν έκ της χώρας, την δέ Χερρόνησον από θαλάττης αρξάμενος μέχρι θαλάττης διετείχισεν. τούτο δέ πράξας τούς μέν Θράκας εκώλυσε της είς του μετά ταθτα χρόνου καταδρομής, αὐτὸς δὲ μεγάλαις δωρεαίς τιμηθείς διεβίβασε το στρατόπεδον είς την 'Ασίαν. 39. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ τῶν πρὸς Λακεδαιμυνίους ανοχών γενομένων ανέβη προς του βασιλέα, και συνέπεισεν αὐτὸν στόλον έτοιμάσαι καὶ ναύαρχον έπιστήσαι Κόνωνα του 'Αθηναΐον' ούτος γάρ ήν ξαπειρος των κατά πόλεμον άγωνων, και μάλιστα τῶν πολεμίων1· πολεμικώτατος δ' ῶν ἐν Κύπρω διέτριβε παρ' Εὐαγόρα τω βασιλεί. πεισθέντος

διέτριβε παρ' Εὐαγόρα τῷ βασιλεῖ. πεισθέντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως Φαρνάβαζος λαβῶν ἀργυρίου τάλαντα πεντακόσια παρεσκευάζετο κατασκευάζειν 2 ναυτικόν. διαπλεύσας οὖν εἰς Κύπρον τοῖς μὲν ἐκεῖ βασιλεῦσι παρήγγειλεν ἐκατὸν τριήρεις ἐτοιμάζειν, τῷ δὲ Κόνωνι περὶ τῆς ναυαρχίας διαλεχθεὶς ἐπέστησεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἡγεμόνα, μεγάλας ὑποφαίνων παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐλπίδας. 3 δ δὲ Κόνων ἄμα μὲν ἐλπίζων ἀνακτήσεσθαι τῆ

<sup>1</sup> πολεμίων] ναυτικών Wesseling, πελαγίον Dindorf; Wurm suggests αγώνων ναυμαχιών. 3 πολεμικώτατος] φυγάς Itelske.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Xenophon (Hell, 3, 2, 10) says that the isthmus was only 120

While these events were taking place, the Thracians 399 s.c. invaded the Chersonesus in great multitudes, laid waste the whole region, and held its cities beleaguered. The inhabitants of the Chersonesus, being hard pressed in the war, sent for the Lacedaemonian Dercylidas to come from Asia. He, crossing over with his army, drove the Thracians out of the country and shut off the Chersonesus by a wall which he ran from sea to sea. By this act he prevented any future descent of the Thracians; and after being honoured with great gifts he transported his army to Asia.

39. Pharnabazus, after the truce had been made with the Lacedacmonians, went back to the King and won him over to the plan of preparing a fleet and appointing Conon the Athenian as its admiral; for Conon was experienced in the encounters of war and especially in combat with the present enemy,2 and although he excelled in warfare, he was at the time in Cyprus at the court of Evagoras the king.\* After the King had been persuaded, Pharmabazus took five hundred talents of silver and prepared to fit out a naval force. Sailing across to Cyprus, he ordered the kings there to make ready a hundred triremes and then, after discussions with Conon about the command of the fleet, he appointed him supreme commander at sea, giving indications in the name of the King of great hopes Conon might entertain. Conon, in the hope not only that he would recover

thirty-seven stades (some five miles) wide where the wall was built; ep. Pliny, Hist. Nat. 4, 43.

a i.e. the Lacedaemonians. But the text may have mentioned instead his special experience in fighting at sea; cp. critical note.

<sup>3</sup> Conon had taken refuge with him after the battle of Acgospotami, fearing to return to Athens (Book 13, 106).

πατρίδι την ήγεμονίαν, εἰ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καταπολεμηθεῖεν, ἄμα δ' αὐτὸς μεγάλης τεύξεσθαι δόξης, 4 προσεδέξατο την ναυαρχίαν. οὕπω δὲ τοῦ στόλου παντὸς παρεσκευασμένου τὰς ἐτοίμους ναῦς τετταράκοντα λαβὼν διέπλευσεν εἰς Κιλικίαν, κἀκεῖ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἡτοιμάζετο.

Φαρνάβαζος δὲ καὶ Τισσαφέρνης ἐκ τῶν ιδίων σατραπειῶν ἀθροίσαντες στρατιώτας ἀνέζευξαν, ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐφέσου τὴν πορείαν ποιούμενοι διὰ τὰ τοὺς τολεμίους ἔχειν ἐνταῦθα τὴν δύναμιν. καὶ συνηκολούθουν αὐτοῖς πεζοὶ μὲν δισμύριοι, ἱππεῖς δὲ μύριοι. ἀκούων δὲ τῶν Περσῶν τὴν ἔφοδον Δερκυλίδας ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀφηγούμενος ἐξήγαγε τὴν δύναμιν, ἔχων τοὺς πάντας οὐ πλείους τῶν ἐπτακισχιλίων. ὡς δ' ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων ἐγενήθη τὰ στρατόπεδα, σπονδὰς ἐποιήσαντο καὶ χρόνον ῶρισαν, ἐν ῷ Φαρνάβαζος μὲν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα πέμψει περὶ συνθηκῶν, εὶ βούλοιτο καταλῦσαι τὸν πόλεμον, Δερκυλίδας δὲ τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις δηλώσει περὶ τούτων. οὖτοι μὲν οὖν οὕτω διέλυσαν τὰ στρατόπεδα.

40. 'Ρηγίνοι δὲ Χαλκιδέων ὅντες ἄποικοι τὴν αυξήσιν τοῦ Διονυσίου χαλεπῶς ἐώρων. Ναξίους μὲν γὰρ καὶ Καταναίους συγγενεῖς ὅντας ἐξηνδραποδίσατο, τοῖς δὲ 'Ρηγίνοις, γένους' τοῦ αὐτοῦ μετέχουσι τοῖς ἡτυχηκόσιν, οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἀγωνίαν παρεῖχε τὸ γεγονός, πάντων εὐλαβουμένων μὴ 192

the leadership in Greece for his native country if the 200 m.c. Lacedaemonians were subdued in war but also that he would himself win great renown, accepted the command. And before the entire fleet had been made ready, he took the forty ships which were at hand and sailed across to Cilicia, where he began

preparations for the war.

Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes gathered soldiers from their own satrapies and marched out, making their way towards Ephesus, since the enemy had their forces in that city. The army accompanying them numbered twenty thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry. On hearing of the approach of the Persians Dereylidas, the commander of the Lacedaemonians, led out his army, having in all not more than seven thousand men. But when the forces drew near each other, they concluded a truce and set a period of time during which Pharnabazus should send word to the King regarding the terms of the treaty, should he be ready to end the war, and Dercylidas should explain the matter to the Spartans. So upon this understanding the commanders dispersed their armies.

40. The inhabitants of Rhegium, who were colonists of Chalcis, were angered to see the growing power of Dionysius. For he had sold into slavery the Naxians and Catanians, their kinsmen, and to the Rhegians, because they were of the same blood as a these unfortunate peoples, this act was the cause of no ordinary concern, since all feared the same disaster

<sup>1</sup> Cp. chap. 15. <sup>2</sup> Or "they faced the same danger as."

<sup>1</sup> γένους added by Reiske. Post would read κυδύνου τοθ αύτοθ; Vogel suggests γένους οδοι for μετέχουσι,

2 ταις αὐταις συμφοραις περιπέσωσιν. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς, πρίν τελείως ἰσχυρον γενέσθαι τὸν τύραννον, στρατεύειν επ' αυτόν κατά τάγος, παραγρήμα δέ συνεβάλοντοι πρός τον πόλεμον ούκ ελάγιστα καί οί φυγαδευθέντες των Συρακοσίων ύπο Διονυσίου. τότε γάρ οί πλείστοι διατρίβοντες εν 'Ρηγίω διετέλουν περί τούτων διαλεγόμενοι, διδάσκοντες ότι συνεπιθήσονται\* τω καιρώ πάντες οι Συρακόσιοι. 3 τέλος δε καταστήσαντες στρατηγούς, εξέπεμψαν μετ' αὐτῶν πεζούς μεν έξακισχιλίους, ίππεις δε έξακοσίους, τριήρεις δε πεντήκοντα. ούτοι δε διαπλεύσαντες τον πορθμον έπεισαν τούς των Μεσσηνίων στρατηγούς κοινωνήσαι του πολέμου. φάσκοντες δεινον είναι περιιδείν αστυγείτονας Ελληνίδας πόλεις αρδην άνηρημένας ύπο του τυράννου, 4 οί μεν ούν στρατηγοί πεισθέντες τοις 'Ρηνίνοις ανευ της του δήμου γνώμης εξήγαγον τους στρατιώτας ήσαν δ' ούτοι πεζοί μεν τετρακισχίλιοι, ίππεις δε τετρακόσιοι, τριήρεις δε τριάκοντα. επεί δέ προήλθον αί προειρημέναι δυνάμεις πρός τούς όρους της Μεσσήνης, ένέπεσεν είς τους στρατιώτας στάσις, Λαομέδοντος του Μεσσηνίου δημηγορήο σαντος ούτος γάρ συνεβούλευε μή κατάρχεσθαι πολέμου πρός του Διονύσιον μηδέν αὐτους ήδικηκότα. οἱ μὲν οὖν τῶν Μεσσηνίων στρατιῶται, τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ ἐπικεκυρωκότος τοῦ δήμου, παραγρημ' επείσθησαν, και τούς στρατηγούς καταλι-

6 πόντες ανέκαμψαν είς την πατρίδα. 'Ρηγίνοι δ' ούκ

3 So Wesseling : emeconpuedros.

όντες ἀξιόμαχοι καθ' έαυτούς, έπειδή τους Μεσ
παραχρήμα δὲ συνεβάλοντο Βισπεί : παρὰ τοθ 'Γηγίνου λαβόντας.

So Wesseling: συνεπείσθησαν.

would befall them. They therefore decided to take 309 a.c. the field speedily against the tyrant before he became entirely secure. Their decision upon war was forthwith supported strongly also by the Syracusans who had been exiled by Dionysius, for most of them were at that time resident in Rhegium and were continually discussing the matter and pointing out that all the Syracusans would seize the occasion to join in an attack. In the end the Rhegians appointed generals and sent out with them six thousand infantry, six hundred cavalry, and fifty triremes. The generals crossed the strait and induced the generals of the Messenians to join in the war, declaring that it would be a terrible thing for them to stand idly by when Greek cities, and their neighbours, had been totally destroyed by the tyrant. Now the generals were won over by the Rhegians and, without obtaining a vote of the people, led forth their forces which consisted of four thousand infantry, four hundred cavalry, and thirty triremes. But when the armaments we have mentioned had advanced as far as the borders of Messene, opposition broke out among the soldiers due to a harangue delivered by the Messenian Laomedon: for he advised them not to begin a war against Dionysius who had done them no wrong. Accordingly the Messenian troops, since the people had not approved the war, followed his advice at once. and, deserting their generals, turned back home; and the Rhegians, since they were not strong enough alone for a battle, when they saw that the Messenians

σηνίους εώρων διαλύοντας το στρατόπεδον, και αύτοι ταχέως ανέκαμψαν εις 'Ρήγιον. Διονύσιος δε το μεν πρώτον επί τους όρους της Συρακοσίας εξήγαγε την δύναμιν, προσδεχόμενος την των πολεμίων έφοδον ως δ' ήκουσε την ανάζευξιν αυτών, 7 απήγαγε την στρατιάν εις τας Συρακούσας διαπρεσβευσαμένων δε των 'Ρηγίνων και των Μεσσηνίων περι ειρήνης, κρίνων' συμφέρον είναι διαλύεσθαι την έχθραν προς τας πόλεις, συνέθετο

την ειρήνην.

41. Όρων δε των Ελλήνων τινάς είς την έπικράτειαν των Καρχηδονίων αποτρέχοντας τάς τε πόλεις και τας κτήσεις κομιζομένους, ενόμιζε της πρός Καρχηδονίους είρηνης μενούσης πολλούς των υφ' αυτον ταττομένων βουλήσεσθαι κοινωνείν τῆς εκείνων αποστάσεως, ἐὰν δὲ πόλεμος γένηται, πάντας τούς καταδεδουλωμένους ύπο Καρχηδονίων άποστήσεσθαι πρός αὐτόν ήκουσε δὲ καὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων πολλούς έν Λιβύη διεφθάρθαι λοιμική 2 καταστάσει περιπεσόντας. διο και νομίζων εύθετον έγειν καιρόν τοῦ πολέμου κατασκευήν έκρινε δείν πρώτον γίνεσθαι υπελάμβανε γάρ έσεσθαι μέγαν και πολυχρόνιον τον πόλεμον, ώς αν πρός τους δυνατωτάτους τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην μέλλων 8 διαγωνίζεσθαι. εὐθὺς οὖν τοὺς τεχνίτας ἤθροιζεν έκ μέν των υπ' αυτόν ταττομένων πόλεων κατά πρόσταγμα, τοὺς δ' ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος έτι δὲ τῆς Καρχηδονίων ἐπικρατείας μεγάλοις μισθοῖς προτρεπόμενος. διενοεῖτο γὰρ ὅπλα μὲν παμπληθή και βέλη παντοΐα κατασκευάσαι, πρός δε τούτοις ναθε τετρήρεις και πεντήρεις, οὐδέπω κατ' έκείνους τους χρόνους σκάφους πεντηρικού

were disbanding their army, also turned back speedily swac. to Rhegium. At the outset Dionysius had led out his army to the border of the Syracusan territory, awaiting the attack of the enemy; but when he learned of their retirement, he led his forces back to Syracuse. When the Rhegians and Messenians sent ambassadors to treat upon terms of peace, he decided that it was to his advantage to put an end to enmity

against these states and concluded peace.

41. When Dionysius observed that some of the Greeks were deserting to the Carthaginian domain, taking with them their cities and their estates, he concluded that so long as he was at peace with the Carthaginians many of his subjects would be wanting to join their defection, whereas, if there were war, all who had been enslaved by the Carthaginians would revolt to him. And he also heard that many Carthaginians in Libya had fallen victims to a plague which had raged among them. Thinking for these reasons, then, that he had a favourable occasion for war, he decided that preparation should first be effected: for he assumed that the war would be a great and protracted one since he was entering a struggle with the most powerful people of Europe. At once, therefore, he gathered skilled workmen, commandeering them from the cities under his control and attracting them by high wages from Italy and Greece as well as Carthaginian territory. For his purpose was to make weapons in great numbers and every kind of missile, and also quadriremes and quinqueremes, no ship of the latter size having vet

<sup>1</sup> So Stephanus : κρίνων περὶ εἰρήνης.
2 So Wurin : ἐπιστασίας Vogel : ἐπιστάσεως.
3 So Wesselling : τε τριέρρεις.

4 νεναυπηγημένου. συναχθέντων δὲ πολλῶν τεχνιτῶν, διελῶν αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὰς οἰκείας ἐργασίας κατέστησε τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς ἐπισημοτάτους, προθεὶς δωρεὰς μεγάλας τοῖς κατασκευάσασιν ὅπλα. διέδωκε δὲ καὶ τῶν ὅπλων τὸν γένους¹ ἐκάστου τύπον διὰ τὸ τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἐκ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν 5 συνεστηκέναι· ἔσπευδε γὰρ ἔκαστον τῶν στρατευομένων κοσμῆσαι τοῖς οἰκείαις ὅπλοις, καὶ διελάμβανε³ τὸ στρατόπεδον πολλὴν ἔξειν κατάπληξιν

διά ταύτην την αιτίαν και κατά τάς μάχας κάλ-

λιστα<sup>3</sup> χρήσεσθαι<sup>4</sup> τῷ συνήθει κιιθοπλισμῷ πίντιις τοὺς συναγωνιζομένους. συμπροθυμουμένων δὲ καὶ τῶν Συρακοσίων τῆ τοῦ Διονυσίου προαιρέσει, πολλὴν συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι<sup>5</sup> τὴν φιλοτιμίαν περὶ τὴν τῶν ὅπλων κατασκευήν. οὐ μόνον γὰρ ἐν τοῖς προνάοις καὶ τοῖς ὁπισθοδόμοις τῶν ἱερῶν, ἔτι δὲ τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ ταῖς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν στοαῖς, ἔγεμε πᾶς τόπος τῶν ἐργαζομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ χωρὶς τῶν δημοσίων τόπων ἐν ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις οἰκίαις ὅπλα παμπληθῆ κατεσκευάζετο.

42. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ καταπελτικὸν εὐρέθη κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἐν Συρακούσαις, ὡς ἄν τῶν κρατίστων τεχνιτῶν πανταχόθεν εἰς ἔνα τόπον συνηγμένων. τὴν γὰρ προθυμίαν τό τε μέγεθος τῶν μισθῶν ἐξεκαλεῖτο καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν προκειμένων ἄθλων τοῖς ἀρίστοις κριθεῖσι· χωρὶς δὲ

<sup>1</sup> τον γένους Vogel, τοῦ γένους Wesseling, πρὸς γένος Reiske: τὸ γένος.
3 So Dindorf: κάλλιστον.
4 So Bekker: χρήσιαθαι.

So Dindorf: yerlobat.

been built at that time.1 After collecting many 200 n.c. skilled workmen, he divided them into groups in accordance with their skills, and appointed over them the most conspicuous citizens, offering great bounties to any who created a supply of arms. As for the armour, he distributed among them models of each kind, because he had gathered his mercenaries from many nations; for he was eager to have every one of his soldiers armed with the weapons of his people. conceiving that by such armour his army would, for this very reason, cause great consternation, and that in battle all of his soldiers would fight to best effect in armour to which they were accustomed. And since the Syracusans enthusiastically supported the policy of Dionysius, it came to pass that rivalry rose high to manufacture the arms. For not only was every space, such as the porticoes and back rooms of the temples as well as the gymnasia and colonnades of the market place, crowded with workers, but the making of great quantities of arms went on, apart from such public places, in the most distinguished homes.

42. In fact the catapult was invented at this time in Syracuse, since the ablest skilled workmen had been gathered from everywhere into one place. The high wages as well as the numerous prizes offered the workmen who were judged to be the best stimulated

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments*, pp. 130-131, questions the invention of quinqueremes at this time, since they are not heard of again until the time of Alexander the Great.

Machines for throwing heavy missiles were known to the Assyrians several centuries before this and their use was probably brought to the west by the Carthaginians, from whom the western Greeks learned of them.

τούτων περιπορευόμενος τους έργαζομένους ό Διονύσιος καθ' ήμεραν λόγοις τε φιλανθρώποις έχρητο καὶ τοὺς προθυμοτάτους ἐτίμα δωρεαῖς καὶ πρὸς 2 τὰ συνδείπνια παρελάμβανε. διόπερ άνυπέρβλητον φιλοτιμίαν εἰσφέροντες οἱ τεχνῖται πολλά προσεπενοούντο βέλη καὶ μηχανήματα ξένα καὶ δυνάμενα παρέχεσθαι μεγάλας χρείας. ήρξατο δε ναυπηγείσθαι τετρήρεις και πεντηρικά σκάφη, πρώτος ταύτην την κατασκευήν των νεών επινοήσας. 3 ακούων γαρ ο Διονύσιος εν Κορίνθω ναυπηγηθήναι τριήρη πρώτως, εσπευδε κατά την αποικισθείσαν ύπ' ἐκείνων πόλιν αὐξήσαι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τῶν 4 νεών κατασκευής. λαβών δ' έκ τής 'Ιταλίας έξαγωγήν ύλης, τους μεν ήμίσεις των υλοτόμων είς τὸ κατὰ τὴν Αίτνην ὅρος ἀπέστειλε, γέμον κατ έκείνους τους χρόνους πολυτελούς έλάτης τε καὶ πεύκης, τους δ' ήμίσεις els την Ίταλίαν αποστείλας παρεσκευάσατο ζεύγη μεν τὰ πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν κατακομιούντα, πλοία δέ και τους υπηρέτας πρός τό τὰς σχεδίας ἀπάγεσθαι κατὰ τάχος εἰς τὰς 5 Συρακούσας. ο δε Διονύσιος επειδή την ίκανην ύλην ήθροισεν, υφ' ένα καιρον ήρξατο ναυπηγείσθαι ναθς πλείους των διακοσίων, επισκευάζειν δε τάς προϋπαρχούσας δέκα πρός ταῖς ἐκατόν· ὠκοδόμει δέ και νεωσοίκους πολυτελείς κύκλω του νυν μεγάλου καλουμένου λιμένος έκατον έξήκοντα, τούς πλείστους δύο ναθς δεχομένους, και τούς προϋπάρχοντας εθεράπευεν, όντας έκατὸν πεντήκοντα.

43. Διόπερ τοσούτων δπλων καὶ νεῶν κατα-

<sup>1</sup> So Wesseling : Te Tpoppers.

their zeal. And over and above these factors, Diony- 199 n.c. sius circulated daily among the workers, conversed with them in kindly fashion, and rewarded the most zealous with gifts and invited them to his table. Consequently the workmen brought unsurpassable devotion to the devising of many missiles and engines of war that were strange and capable of rendering great service. He also began the construction of quadriremes and quinqueremes, being the first to think of the construction of such ships. For, hearing that triremes had first been built in Corinth, he was intent, in his city that had been settled by a colony from there, on increasing the scale of naval construc-After obtaining leave to transport timber from Italy he dispatched half of his woodmen to Mount Actne, on which there were heavy stands at that time of both excellent fir and pine, while the other half he dispatched to Italy, where he got ready teams to convey the timber to the sea, as well as boats and crews to bring the worked wood speedily to Syracuse. When Dionysius had collected an adequate supply of wood, he began at one and the same time to build more than two hundred ships and to refit the one hundred and ten he already had; and he also constructed all about the Great Harbour, as ft is now called, one hundred and sixty costly shipsheds, most of which could accommodate two vessels, and repaired the one hundred and fifty which were already there.

48. With so many arms and ships under construc-

<sup>\*</sup> πρώτως Vogel: πρώτος PA, πρώτον cet.
\* δί Eichstidt: τε. μεγάλου added by Wesseling.

σκευαζομένων εν ένὶ τόπω, το γινόμενον πολλήν παρείχε τοις θεωμένοις κατάπληξιν ότε μεν γάρ τις ίδοι την περί τας ναθς σπουδήν, ενόμιζε περί ταύτας απαντας πραγματεύεσθαι τους Σικελιώτας. ότε δὲ πάλιν τοῦς τῶν ὁπλοποιῶν καὶ μηχανοποιῶν έργοις συμπαραγενηθείη, περί τούτους μόνους ένόμιζεν απασαν είναι την της υπηρεσίας παρασκευήν. 2 οὐ μὴν ἀλλά καὶ τῆς περί ταῦτα σπουδῆς ἀνυπερβλήτου γινομένης, κατεσκευάσθησαν ασπίδων μεν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα μυριάδες, εγχειριδίων δε και περικεφαλαιών ο παραπλήσιος άριθμός ήτοιμάσθησαν δε και θώρακες, παντοίοι μεν ταις κατασκευαις, περιττώς δε κατά την τέχνην είργασμένοι, πλείους 3 των μυρίων τετρακισχιλίων. τούτους δε διενοείτο διαδιδόναι τοις ίππευσι και των πεζών τοις έφ' ήγεμονίας τεταγμένοις, έτι δε των μισθοφόρων τοῖς σωματοφυλακείν μελλουσιν. κατεσκευάσθησαν δέ και καταπέλται παντοίοι και των άλλων βελών 4 πολύς τις άριθμός. των δέ παρασκευασθεισων νεων μακρών αι μεν ημίσεις αυτών είχον πολιτικούς κυβερνήτας και πρωρείς, έτι δε τούς ταίς κώπαις χρησομένους, ταις δια άλλαις ο Διονύσιος ξένους εμισθώσατο. επεί δε τὰ περί τὰς ναῦς καὶ την οπλοποιίαν αὐτώ συντέλειαν έλαμβανε, περί την των στρατιωτών παρασκευην έγίνετο τούτους γαρ εκρινε συμφέρειν μή πρό πολλοῦ μισθοῦσθαι πρός το μή πολλάς γίνεσθαι δαπάνας.

'Αστυδάμας δ' ὁ τραγφδιογράφος τότε πρώτον εδίδαξεν εξησε δε ετη εξήκοντα.

'Ρωμαΐοι δέ πολιορκούντες τους Βηίους, έξελ-

<sup>1</sup> So Hertlein : 8186was. So Post: αὐτῶν. Vogel suggests deletion.

#### BOOK XIV. 43, 1-5

tion at one place the beholder was filled with utter 200 m.c. wonder at the sight. For whenever a man gazed at the eagerness shown in the building of the ships, he thought that every Greek in Sicily was engaged on their construction; and when, on the other hand, he visited the places where men were making arms and engines of war, he thought that all available labour was engaged in this alone. Moreover, despite the unsurpassable zeal devoted to the products we have mentioned, there were made one hundred and forty thousand shields and a like number of daggers and helmets; and in addition corselets were made ready, of every design and wrought with utmost art, more than fourteen thousand in number. These Dionysius expected to distribute to his cavalry and the commanders of the infantry, as well as to the mercenaries who were to form his bodyguard. He also had catabults made of every style and a large number of the other missiles. For half of the ships of war which were prepared, the pilots, officers at the bow, and rowers were drawn from citizens, while for the rest of the vessels Dionysius hired mercenaries. When the building of the ships and the making of arms were completed. Dionysius turned his attention to the gathering of soldiers; for he believed it advantageous not to hire them far in advance in order to avoid heavy expenses.

In this year Astydamas, the writer of tragedies, produced his first play; and he lived sixty years.

The Romans were besieging Veii, and when a sortic

<sup>2</sup> Of Athens.

a 8è added by Reiske.
So Wesseling: Boovis.

## DIODORUS OF SIGHLY

θόντων των έκ της πόλεως οι μεν κατεκόπησαν

ύπο των Βηίων, οί δ' εξέφυνον αίσχρως.

44. Τοῦ δ' έτους τούτου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μεν ήρξεν 'Ιθυκλής, εν 'Ρώμη δ' άντι των υπάτων γιλίαρχοι πέντε κατεστάθησαν, Λεύκιος Ιούλιος, Μάρκος Φούριος, Μάρκος Αιμίλιος, Γάιος Κορνήλιος, Καίσων Φάβιος. Διονύσιος δ' δ των Συρακοσίων τύραννος, επειδή των περί την δπλοποιίαν καὶ ναυπηγίαν έργων τὰ πλείστα συντέλειαν είλήφει, περί την των στρατιωτών παρασκευήν εθθύς των ούν Συρακοσίων κατέλεγε τους έπιτηδείους εἰς τάξεις, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ταττομένων πόλεων μετεπέμπετο τους ευθέτους. συνήγαγε δε και μισθοφόρους εκ της Έλλάδος και μάλιστα παρά των Λακεδαιμονίων ούτοι γάρ αὐτω συναύξοντες την άρχην έδωκαν εξουσίαν όσους βούλοιτο παρ' αὐτῶν ξενολογείν. καθόλου δ' ἐκ πολλών έθνων σπεύδων το ξενικόν στρατόπεδον συνηθροικέναι και μισθούς πολλούς επαγγελλόμενος, ευρισκε τους υπακούοντας.

3 Μέλλων δε μέγαν εξεγείρειν πόλεμον, ταις κατά την νήσον πόλεσι φιλανθρώπως προσεφέρετο, την εύνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐκκαλούμενος. τοὺς δὲ παρά τὸν πορθμον κατοικούντας 'Ρηγίνους τε καί Μεσσηνίους όρων ίκανην δύναμιν έχοντας συντεταγμένην, εύλαβείτο μήποτε των Καρχηδονίων διαβάντων είς Σικελίαν εκείνοις πρόσθωνται ου μικράν γάρ αί πόλεις αθται ροπήν είχον, δποτέροις είς τον πόλεμον

<sup>1</sup> row added by Eichstädt.

<sup>\*</sup> So Wesseling : Boulev.

## BOOK XIV. 43. 5-44. 3

was made from the city, some of the Romans were see and cut to pieces by the Veientes and others escaped by

shameful flight.

44. When this year had come to an end, Ithycles 308 B.C. was archon in Athens and in Rome five military tribunes were established in place of the consuls, Lucius Julius, Marcus Furius, Marcus Aemilius, Gaius Cornelius, and Caeso Fabius. Dionysius, the tyrant of the Syracusans, as soon as the major part of the task of making arms and building a fleet was completed, turned at once to the gathering of soldiers. From the Syracusans he enrolled those who were fit for military service in companies and from the cities subject to him he summoned their able men. He also gathered mercenaries from Greece, and especially from the Lacedaemonians, for they, in order to aid him in building up his power, gave him permission to enlist as many mercenaries from them as he might wish. And, speaking generally, since he made a point of gathering his mercenary force from many nations and promised high pay, he found men who were responsive.

Since Dionysius was going to raise up a great war, he addressed himself to the cities of Sicily with courtesy, eliciting their goodwill. He saw that the Rhegians and Messenians who dwelt on the Strait had a strong army mobilized and he feared that, when the Carthaginians crossed over to Sicily, they would join the Carthaginians; for these cities would add no little weight to the side with which they allied themselves for the war. Since these considerations

<sup>1</sup> The Strait of Messina,

<sup>3</sup> συνηθροικέναι] Vogel suggests συναθροίσαι.

4 συμμαχήσειαν. ά δη λίαν άγωνιῶν ὁ Διονύσιος τοις Μεσσηνίοις έδωκε πολλήν τής όμόρου γώραν, ίδίους αὐτούς κατασκευάζων ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις πρός δέ 'Ρηγίνους απέστειλε πρεσβευτάς, παρακαλών έπιγαμίαν ποιήσασθαι καὶ δοθναι τῶν πολιτικῶν παρθένων αὐτώ μίαν συμβιώσασθαι επηγγέλλετο δ' αὐτοῖς πολλήν τῆς συνοριζούσης χώρας κατακτήσεσθαι, την πόλιν δ' αὐξήσειν ἐφ' όσον αν αὐτός 5 ίσχύη. της γάρ γυναικός αὐτοῦ, θυγατρός δ' Έρμοκράτους, κατά την απόστασιν των ίππέων ανηρημένης, εσπευδε τεκνοποιήσασθαι, διαλαμβάνων τη των γεννηθέντων εύνοία βεβαιότατα τηρήσειν την δυναστείαν. οὐ μην άλλ' ἐν τῶ 'Ρηγίω συναχθείσης περί τούτων εκκλησίας, καὶ πολλών όηθέντων λόγων, έδοξε τοις 'Ρηγίνοις μή 6 δέξασθαι την επιγαμίαν. Διονύσιος δ' αποτυχών ταύτης της επιβολής, περί των αὐτων ἀπέστειλε τούς πρεσβευτάς πρός του δήμου των Λοκρών. ων ψηφισαμένων την επιγαμίαν, εμνήστευεν ό Διονύσιος Δωρίδα την Εενέτου θυγατέρα, κατ' έκείνον τον χρόνον όντος ενδοξοτάτου των πολιτών. 7 δλίγαις δ' ήμέραις προ των γάμων απέστειλεν eis Λοκρούς πεντήρη πρώτον νεναυπηγημένην, άργυροίς και χρυσοίς κατασκευάσμασι κεκοσμημένην. έφ' ής διακομίσας την παρθένον είς τας Συρακούσας 8 εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ἐμνηστεύσατο δὲ καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν τὴν ἐπισημοτάτην 'Αριστο-

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: κατακτήσασθαι.
2 την Stephanus: τε τήν.
3 So Eichstädt: πολιτών.

were the cause of great concern to Dionysius, he see a.c. made a present to the Messenians of a large piece of territory on their borders, binding them to him by such a benefaction; and to the Rhegians he dispatched amhassadors, urging them to form a connection by marriage and to give him in marriage a maiden who was a citizen of theirs; and he promised that he would win for them a large section of neighbouring territory and do all that was in his power to add to the strength of their city. For since his wife, the daughter of Hermocrates, had been slain at the time the cavalry revolted,1 he was eager to beget children, in the belief that the loyalty of his offspring would be the strongest safeguard of his tyrannical power. Nevertheless, when an assembly of the people was held in Rhegium to consider Dionysius' proposal, after much discussion the Rhegians voted not to accept the marriage connection.2 Now that Dionysius had failed of this design, he dispatched his ambassadors for the same purpose to the people of the Locrians. When they voted to approve the marriage connection, Dionysius sued for the hand of Doris, the daughter of Xenetus, who at that time was their most esteemed citizen. A few days before the marriage he sent to Locri a quinquereme, the first one he had built, embellished with silver and gold furnishings; on this he had the maiden conveyed to Syracuse. where he led her into the acropolis. And he also sought in marriage from among the people of his city the most notable maiden among them, Aristomache,4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 13, 119, 4,

<sup>\*</sup> More on the reply in chap, 107.

The Epizephyrian Locrians in the "toe" of Italy.
 Daughter of Hipparinus and sister of the famous Dion (Book 16. 6).

μάχην, εφ' ήν αποστείλας λευκόν τέθριππον ήγαγεν

είς την ιδίαν οικίαν. 45. Περί δέ τον αὐτον χρόνον ἀμφοτέρας γήμας συνεχείς έστιάσεις έποιείτο των στρατιωτών καί των πλείστων πολιτων · απετίθετο γαρ ήδη το πικρον της τυραννίδος, και μεταβαλλόμενος els επιείκειαν φιλανθρωπότερον ήρχε των υποτεταγπένων, ούτε φονεύων ούτε φυγάδας ποιών, καθάπερ 2 είώθει. μετά δε τους γάμους ολίγας επιμείνας ήμέρας συνήγαγεν εκκλησίαν και παρεκάλει τους Συρακοσίους πόλεμον έξενεγκείν πρός τους Καρχηδονίους, ἀποφαίνων αὐτούς καθόλου μέν τοῖς Έλλησιν έχθροτάτους όντας, μάλιστα δέ τοῖς Σι-3 κελιώταις διά παντός επιβουλεύοντας. καὶ νῦν μεν εφ' ήσυχίας αὐτούς μένειν ἀπεδείκνυε διὰ τὸν έμπεσόντα λοιμόν, ον τούς πλείστους των κατά Λιβύην διεφθαρκέναι ισχύσαντας δ' αὐτοὺς οὐκ άφέξεσθαι των Σικελιωτών, οίς έξ άρχαίων έπιβουλεύουσιν. διὸ αίρετώτερον νῦν είναι πρός άσθενεις αὐτοὺς ὅντας διαπολεμεῖν ἢ μετά ταῦτα 4 πρός ισχυρούς διαγωνίζεσθαι. άμα δὲ συνίστα δεινον είναι περιοράν τὰς Ελληνίδας πόλεις ὑπό βαρβάρων καταδέδουλωμένας, ας επὶ τοσούτον συνεπιλήψεσθαι των κινδύνων, έφ' όσον της έλευθερίας τυχείν επιθυμούσιν. οὐ μήν άλλα πολλούς λόγους πρός ταύτην την προαίρεσιν διαλεχθείς ταχύ 5 συγκαταίνους ελαβε τους Συρακοσίους. ου γάρ ήττον εκείνου τον πόλεμον εσπευδου γενέσθαι, πρώτον μέν μισούντες τους Καρχηδονίους, δι' εκείνους

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> So Eichstidt: πόλεων.
<sup>2</sup> καλ after Καρχηδονίους (PAL, omitted est.) deleted by Vogel, ώs for καλ other editors.

for whom he dispatched a chariot drawn by four 306 s.c.

white horses to bring her to his own home.

45. After Dionysius had taken in marriage both maidens at the same time, he gave a series of public dinners for the soldiers and the larger part of the citizens; for he now renounced the oppressive aspect of his tyranny, and changing to a course of equitable dealing, he ruled over his subjects in more humane fashion, no more putting them to death or banishing them, as had been his practice. After his marriages he let a few days pass and then called an assembly of the Syracusans and urged them to make war against the Carthaginians, declaring that they were most hostile to all Greeks generally and that they had designs at every opportunity on the Greeks of Sicily in particular. For the present, he pointed out, the Carthaginians were inactive because of the plague which had broken out among them and had destroyed the larger part of the inhabitants of Libya, but when they had recovered their strength, they would not refrain from attacking the Sicilian Greeks, against whom they had been plotting from the earliest time. It was therefore preferable, he continued, to wage a decisive war upon them while they were weak than to wait and compete when they were strong. At the same time he pointed out how terrible a thing it was to allow the Greek cities to be enslaved by barbarians, and that these cities would the more zealously join in the war, the more eagerly they desired to obtain their freedom. After speaking at length in support of his policy he speedily won the approval of the Syracusans. Indeed they were no less eager than he for war, first of all because of their hatred of the Carthaginians who were the cause of their being

ηναγκασμένοι ποιείν το προσταττόμενον ύπο του τυράννου έπειτα δὲ καὶ τὸν Διονύσιον φιλανθρωπότερον ἐαυτοῖς ἤλπιζον χρήσεσθαι, φοβούμενον τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν καταδεδουλωμένων ἐπίθεσιν τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἤλπιζον ἐαυτοὺς κυριεύσαντας ὅπλων, ἐὰν ἡ τύχη δῷ καιρόν, ἀντι-

λήψεσθαι της ελευθερίας.

46. Μετά δε την εκκλησίαν, τοῦ Διονυσίου την εξουσίαν δόντος, οι Συρακόσιοι τὰ Φοινικικά χρήματα διήρπασαν. ούκ όλίγοι γάρ των Καρχηδονίων ώκουν έν ταις Συρακούσαις άδρας έχοντες κτήσεις, πολλοί δέ και των έμπόρων είχον έν τω λιμένι τὰς ναῦς γεμούσας φορτίων, ἃ πάντα διε-2 φόρησαν οι Συρακόσιοι. παραπλησίως δε και οί λοιποί Σικελιωται τούς παρ' αὐτοῖς οἰκοῦντας τῶν Φοινίκων εκβαλόντες τας κτήσεις διήρπασανκαίπερ γάρ την Διονυσίου τυραννίδα μισούντες, όμως ήδέως εκοινώνουν του πρός Καρχηδονίους 3 πολέμου διὰ τὴν ώμότητα τῶν ἀνδρῶν. ὧν δὴ χάριν καὶ οἱ τὰς Ελληνίδας πόλεις οἰκοῦντες ὑπο Καρχηδονίους, επειδή φανερώς ο Διονύσιος εξέφερε τον πόλεμον, έναπεδείξαντο το προς τους Φοίνικας μίσος οὐ μόνον γὰρ αὐτών τὰς οὐσίας διήρπασαν, άλλά και αὐτούς συλλαμβάνοντες πάσαν αἰκίαν και ύβριν είς τὰ σώματ' αὐτῶν ἀπετίθεντο, μνημονεύον-4 τες ων αυτοί κατά την αιχμαλωσίαν επαθον. επί τοσούτον δε τής κατά των Φοινίκων τιμωρίας προάβησαν καὶ τότε καὶ κατὰ τὸν ὕστερον χρόνον, ώστε τους Καρχηδονίους διδαχθήναι μηκέτι παραcompelled to take orders from the tyrant; secondly, 255 a.c. because they hoped that Dionysius would treat them in more humane fashion because of his fear of the enemy and of an attack upon him by the citizens he had enslaved; but most of all, because they hoped that once they had got weapons in their hand, they could strike for their liberty, let Fortune but give

them the opportunity.

46. After the meeting of the assembly the Syracusans, with the permission of Dionysius, seized as plunder the property of the Phoenicians; for no small number of Carthaginians had their homes in Syracuse and rich possessions, and many also of their merchants had vessels in the harbour loaded with goods, all of which the Syracusans plundered. Similarly the rest of the Sicilian Greeks drove out the Phoenicians who dwelt among them and plundered their possessions; for although they hated the tyranny of Dionysius, they were still glad to join in the war against the Carthaginians because of the cruelty of that people. For the very same reasons, too, the inhabitants of the Greek cities under the rule of the Carthaginians, as soon as Dionysius publicly enacted war, made open display of their hatred of the Phoenicians; for not only did they scize their property as plunder, but they also laid hands on their persons and subjected them to every kind of physical torture and outrage, remembering what they had themselves suffered during the time of their captivity. So far did they go in the vengeance they wreaked on the Phoenicians both at this time and subsequently, that the Carthaginians were taught

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> d wárra Madvig, Cohet : ὧν ἀπαντα.
<sup>3</sup> ὑπὸ] τὸς ὑπὸ Dindorf.

νομείν εἰς τοὺς ὑποπεσόντας οὐ γὰρ ἠγνόουν, δι αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων μαθόντες, ὅτι τοῖς διαπολεμοῦσι κοινῆς τῆς τύχης ὑπαρχούσης ἀμφοτέρους κατὰ τὰς ἤττας τοιαῦτα ἀνάγκη πάσχειν, οῖα ἄν αὐτοὶ

πράξωσιν είς τους ατυχήσαντας.

5 'Ο δ' οὖν Διονύσιος, ἐπειδὴ πάντ' αὐτῷ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἡτοίμαστο, διενοεῖτο πέμπειν ἀγγέλους εἰς Καρχηδόνα τοὺς ἐροῦντας, ὅτι Συρακόσιοι καταγγέλλουσι πόλεμον Καρχηδονίοις, ἐὰν μὴ τὰς ὑπ' αὐτῶν καταδεδουλωμένας 'Ελληνίδας πόλεις ἐλευθερώσωσιν.

Διονύσιος μέν οὖν περί ταῦτ' ἐγίνετο.

Κτησίας δ' ό συγγραφεύς την τῶν Περσικῶν ἱστορίαν εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν κατέστροφεν, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Νίνου καὶ Σεμιράμεως. ἤκμασαν δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν οἱ ἐπισημότατοι διθυραμβοποιοί, Φιλόξενος Κυθήριος, Τιμόθεος Μιλήσιος, Τελέστης Σελινούντιος, Πολύειδος, δς καὶ ζω-

γραφικής και μουσικής είχεν έμπειρίαν.

47. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μὲν παρειλήφει τὴν ἀρχὴν Λυσιάδης, ἐν δὲ τῷ
'Ρώμη τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν διώκουν χιλίαρχοι ἔξ,
Πόπλιος Μάλλιος, Πούπλιος Μαίλιος, Σπόριος
Φούριος, Λεύκιος Πούπλιος. Διονύσιος δ' ὁ τῶν
Συρακοσίων τύραννος, ἐπειδὴ πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὸν
πόλεμον αὐτῷ κατεσκεύαστο κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν προαίρεσιν, ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς Καρχηδόνα κήρυκα, δοὺς
2 ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τὴν γερουσίαν ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ γεγραμ-

<sup>1</sup> Tow omitted PF, Vogel.

the lesson no more to transgress the law in their mas.c. treatment of conquered peoples; for they did not fail to realize, learning as they did by very deeds, that in war Fortune is impartial to both combatants and in defeat both sides must suffer the same sort of thing that they themselves have done to those who were unfortunate.

Now when Dionysius had made ready all his preparations for the war, he determined to send messengers to Carthage with the announcement: The Syracusans declare war upon the Carthaginians unless they restore freedom to the Greek cities that they have enslaved.

Dionysius, then, was engaged in the affairs we

have discussed.

Ctesias 1 the historian ended with this year his History of the Persians, which began with Ninus and Semiramis. And in this year the most distinguished composers of dithyrambs were in their prime, Philoxenus of Cythera, Timotheüs of Miletus, Telestus of Selinus, and Polyeidus, who was also expert in the

arts of painting and music.

47. At the close of the year, in Athens Lysiades 2 207 a.c. became archon, and in Rome six military tribunes administered the office of consul, Popilius Mallius, Publius Maelius, Spurius Furius, and Lucius Publius. When Dionysius, the tyrant of the Syracusans, had completed all his preparations for the war according to his personal design, he sent a herald to Carthage, having given him a letter to the senate, which con-

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 1, 32, 4,

1 The name should be Suniades (Kirchner, Prosopographia

Attica, 12817).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> There are only four names and they differ considerably from those in Livy, 5. 12.

μένον ἢν ὅτι Συρακοσίοις δεδογμένον εἴη¹ πολεμεῖν πρὸς Καρχηδονίους, ἐὰν μὴ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἔκχωρήσωσιν. οὕτος μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὸ παραγγελθὲν πλεύσας εἰς Λιβύην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀπέδωκε τῆ γερουσία. ἡς ἀναγνωσθείσης ἔν τε τῆ συγκλήτω καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ ἐν τῷ δήμω συνέβη τοὺς Καρχηδονίους οὐ μετρίως ἀγωνιᾶν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου ὅ τε γὰρ λοιμὸς αὐτῶν παμπληθεῖς ἀπεκτάγκει καὶ τοῖς ὅλοις ἡσαν ἀπαρασκεύαστοι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οὕτοι μὲν ἐκαραδόκουν τὴν τῶν Συρακοσίων προαίρεσιν καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀπέστειλάν τινας τῶν ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας τοὺς ξενολογήσοντας ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης.

Διονύσιος δ' ἀναλαβών τοὺς Συρακοσίους καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς συμμάχους, ἀνέζευξεν ἐκ Συρακουσῶν, ἐπ' Ἑρυκος τὴν πορείαν ποιούμενος. οὐ μακρὰν γὰρ τοῦ λόφου τούτου Μοτύη πόλις ἡν ἄποικος Καρχηδονίων, ἡ μάλιστα ἐχρῶντο κατὰ τῆς Σικελίας ὁρμητηρίω ταύτης γὰρ κρατήσας ἡλπιζεν οὐκ ἀλίγα προτερήσειν τῶν πολεμίων.

5 κατά δε την όδοιπορίαν αεί παρελάμβανε τούς εκ των Έλληνίδων πόλεων, πανδημεί καθοπλίζων συνεστρατεύοντο γαρ αὐτῷ προθύμως απαντες, μοσῦντες μεν το βάρος της των Φοινίκων επικρατείας, επιθυμοῦντες δε τυχείν ποτε της ελευθερίας.

6 καὶ πρώτους μὰν Καμαριναίους παρέλαβεν, εἶτα Γελώους καὶ 'Ακραγαντίνους μεθ' οὖς 'Ιμεραίους μετεπέμψατο, κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ θάτερα μέρη τῆς Σικελίας. Σελινουντίους δ' ἐν' παρόδω προσαγαγόμενος παρεγενήθη πρὸς τὴν Μοτύην μετὰ πάσης

i dy Hertlein: iv.

tained the statement that the Syracusans had re-solved to make war upon the Carthaginians unless they withdrew from the Greek cities. The herald accordingly, pursuant to his orders, sailed to Libya and delivered the letter to the senate. When it had been read in the council and subsequently before the people, it came about that the Carthaginians were not a little distressed at the thought of war; for the plague had killed great numbers of them, and they were also totally unprepared. Nevertheless, they waited for the Syracusans to take the initiative and dispatched members of the senate with large sums of money to recruit mercenaries in Europe.<sup>1</sup>

Dionysius with the Syracusans, the mercenaries, and his allies marched forth from Syracuse and made his way towards Eryx. For not far from this hill lay the city of Motye, a Carthaginian colony, which they used as their chief base of operations against Sicily; and Dionysius hoped that with this city in his power he would have no small advantage over his enemies. In the course of his march he received from time to time the contingents from the Greek cities, supplying the full levy of each with arms; for they were all cager to join his campaign, hating as they did the heavy hand of Phoenician domination and relishing the prospect at last of freedom. He received first the levy from Camarina, then those of Gela and Acragas; and after these he sent for the Himeraeans, whose home was on the other side of Sicily, and after adding the men of Selinus, as he passed by, he arrived

\* Cp. Book 4. 83.

Presumably in Spain, where Hannibal had formerly gathered mercenaries (Book 13. 44).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> So Eichstädt: προσαγόμενος.

7 τῆς δυνάμεως. εἶχε δὲ πεζοὺς μὲν ὀκτακισμυρίους, ἐππεῖς δὲ πολὺ¹ πλείους τῶν τρισχιλίων, ναῦς δὲ μακρὰς οὐ πολὺ λειπούσας τῶν διακοσίων συνηκολούθει δὲ καὶ φορτηγὰ πλοῖα γέμοντα πολλῶν μηχανημάτων, ἔτι δὲ τῆς ἄλλης χορηγίας ἀπάσης,

κίνοι μέν καταπλαγέντες το μέγεθος της δυνάμεως

όντα τον άριθμον ούκ ελάττω πεντακοσίων.
48. Τηλικαύτης δε της παρασκευής ούσης, Έρυ-

καὶ μισούντες Καρχηδονίους προσεχώρησαν τῷ Διονυσίῳ, οἱ δὲ τὴν Μοτύην κατοικοῦντες προσδεχόμενοι τὴν ἐκ Καρχηδονίων βοήθειαν οὐ κατεπλήττοντο τὴν Διονυσίου δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν παρεσκευάζοντο οὐ γὰρ ἡγνόουν τοὺς Συρακοσίους ὅτι πρώτην τὴν Μοτύην πορθήσουσι διὰ τὸ πιστοτάτην εἶναι τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις. 2 αὕτη δ' ἡ πόλις ἡν ἐπί τινος νήσου κειμένη, τῆς Σικελίας ἀπέχουσα σταδίους εξ, τῷ δὰ πλήθει καὶ τῷ κάλλει τῶν οἰκιῶν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν πεφιλοτεχνημένη διὰ τὴν εὐπορίαν τῶν κατοικούντων. εἰχε δὰ καὶ όδὸν στενὴν χειροποίητον φέρουσαν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Σικελίας αἰγιαλόν, ἡν οἱ Μοτυηνοὶ τότε διέσκαψαν, ὡς μὴ προσόδους ἔχοιεν κατ' αὐτῶν οἰ

πολέμιοι.
3 Διονύσιος δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων κατασκεψάμενος τοὺς τόπους, ἢρξατο χώματα κατασκευάζειν ἐπὶ τὴν Μοτύην, καὶ τὰς μὲν μακρὰς ναῦς
παρὰ τὸν εἴσπλουν τοῦ λιμένος ἐνεώλκησε, τὰ δὲ
φορτηγὰ τῶν πλοίων ὥρμισε παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν.

μετά δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἔργων κατέλιπεν ἐπιστάτην Λεπτίνην τὸν ναύαρχον, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς

#### BOOK XIV. 47, 6-48, 4

at Motyê with all his army. He had eighty thousand 397 a.c. infantry, well over three thousand cavalry, and a little less than two hundred warships, and he was accompanied by not less than five hundred merchantmen loaded with great numbers of engines of war

and all the other supplies needed.

48. Since the armament was on the great scale we have described, the people of Eryx were awed by the magnitude of the force and, hating the Carthaginians as they did, came over to Dionysius. The inhabitants of Motyê, however, expecting aid from the Carthaginians, were not dismayed at Dionysius' armament, but made ready to withstand a siege; for they were not unaware that the Syracusans would make Motyê the first city to sack, because it was most loyal to the Carthaginians. This city was situated on an island lying six stades off Sicily, and was embellished artistically to the last degree with numerous fine houses, thanks to the prosperity of the inhabitants. It also had a narrow artificial causeway extending to the shore of Sicily, which the Motyans breached at this time, in order that the enemy should have no approach against them.

Dionysius, after reconnoitring the area, together with his engineers, began to construct moles leading to Motyê, hauled the warships up on land at the entrance of the harbour, and moored the merchantmen along the beach. After this he left Leptines his admiral in command of the works, while he himself

## <sup>1</sup> Brother of the tyrant.

So Wesseling: προόδοις P, προόδους cat.

<sup>1</sup> πολύ deleted by Dindorf, Vogel.
2 So Rhodoman: δύναμιν.
3 So Rhodoman: βοήθειαν.
4 πρώτην Hertlein, πρώτως Past: πρώτοι PAL, πρώτον ου.

πεζής στρατιάς ώρμησεν έπὶ τὰς τοῦς Καρχηδονίοις συμμαγούσας πόλεις. Σικανοί μέν οθν πάντες εύλαβούμενοι το μένεθος της δυνάμεως προσεχώρησαν τοίς Συρακοσίοις, των δε άλλων πόλεων πέντε μόνον διέμειναν εν' τῆ προς Καρχηδονίους φιλία αθται δέ ήσαν 'Αλικύαι,' Σολοθς, Αίγεστα, 5 Πάνορμος, "Εντελλα, την μέν ούν των Σολουντίνων και Πανορμιτών, προς δε τούτοις Αλικυαίων γώραν ο Διονύσιος λεηλατήσας έδενδροτόμησε, την δε Αίγεσταν και "Εντελλαν' πολλή δυνάμει περιστρατοπεδεύσας συνεχείς εποιείτο προσβολάς, σπεύδων αὐτών μετά βίας κυριεύσαι. καὶ τά μέν περί Διονύσιον έν τούτοις ήν. 49. Ἰμίλκων δὲ ὁ τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατηγός αύτος μέν περί τον των δυνάμεων άθροισμον καί την άλλην εγίνετο παρασκευήν, τον δε ναύαρχον μετά δέκα τριήρων απέστειλε, κελεύσας κατά τάγος λάθρα πλείν ώς έπι Συρακοσίους, και νυκτός els τον λιμένα πλεύσαντα διαφθείραι τὰ καταλελειμ-2 μένα των πλοίων. τοῦτο δ' ἔπραξε νομίζων ἀντιπερισπασμόν τινα ποιήσειν καὶ τὸν Διονύσιον ἀναγκάσειν μέρος τῶν πλοίων ἀποστέλλειν ἐπὶ

πράξας το παραγγελθέν, κατέπλευσε νυκτός είς τον τῶν Συρακοσίων λιμένα, πάντων ἀγνοούντων το γεγενημένον. ἀπροσδοκήτως δ' ἐπιθέμενος καὶ τοῖς παρορμοῦσι πλοίοις ἐμβολὰς δοὺς καὶ σχεδόν ἄπαντα καταδύσας, ἀνέκαμψεν εἰς Καρχηδόνα. 8 Διονύσιος δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίους χώραν

Συρακοσίους. ὁ δὲ πεμφθεὶς ναύαρχος συντόμως

<sup>1</sup> οὖν πάντες Stephanus: παναυτῶν P, πάντες ακτ.
2 ἐν added by Eichstüdt.
4 So Jac. Gronovius: ἄνκυσα.

set out with the infantry of his army against the cities wo a.c. that were allies of the Carthaginians. Now the Sicani, fearing the great size of the army, all went over to the Syracusans, and of the rest of the cities only five remained loyal to the Carthaginians, these being Halicyae, Solus, Aegesta, Panormus, and Entella. Hence Dionysius plundered the territory of Solûs and Panormus, and that also of Halicyae, and cut down the trees on it, but he laid siege to Aggesta and Entella with strong forces and launched continuous attacks upon them, seeking to get control of them by force. Such was the state of the affairs

of Dionysius.

49. Himilcon, the general of the Carthaginians, being himself busy with the mustering of the armaments and other preparations, dispatched his admiral with ten trivemes under orders to sail speedily in secret against the Syracusans, enter the harbour by night, and destroy the shipping left behind there. This he did, expecting to cause a diversion and force Dionysius to send part of his fleet back to the Syra-The admiral who had been dispatched carried out his orders with promptness and entered the harbour of the Syracusans by night while everyone was ignorant of what had taken place. Attacking unawares, he rammed the vessels lying at anchor along the shore, sank practically all of them, and then returned to Carthage. Dionysius, after ravaging all the territory held by the Carthaginians and forcing

On the origin of the Sicani see Book 5. 6. 2 "To Syracuse" is meant, as also just below.

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: τήν τε των Αίγεσταίων και Έντελλάνων. So Wesseling: καταλύσας.

δηώσας καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους τειχήρεις ποιήσας, ἐπὶ τὴν Μοτύην ἄπασαν ἤγαγε τὴν δύναμιν ἤλπιζε γαρ ταύτης ἐκπολιορκηθείσης τὰς ἄλλας εὐθέως αὐτὰς παραδώσειν. εὐθὺς οὖν πολλαπλασίους ἄνδρας τοῖς ἔργοις τε προστιθεὶς ἐχώννυε τὸν μεταξὺ πόρον, καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον ἄμα τῆ τοῦ χώματος αὐξήσει προσήγαγε τοῖς τείχεσιν.

50. Περί δε τοῦτον τον χρόνον Ἰμίλκων ὁ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ναύαρχος άκούσας ότι Διονύσιος ένεωλκησε τας ναύς, εθθύς επλήρου τας αρίστας των τριήρων έκατόν ύπελάμβανε γάρ άπροσδοκήτως επιφανείς ραδίως κρατήσειν των νενεωλκημένων εν τω λιμένι σκαφών, κυριεύων της θαλάττης. τούτο δὲ πράξας ἐνόμιζε τήν τε τής Μοτύης πολιορκίαν λύσειν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον μετάξειν ἐπὶ 2 την των Συρακοσίων πόλιν. Εκπλεύσας οδν μετά νεών έκατον κατήχθη επί την τών Σελινουντίων χώραν νυκτός, και περιπλεύσας την περί<sup>3</sup> Λιλύβαιον άκραν αμ' ήμέρα παρήν ἐπί την Μοτύην. άνελπίστως δ' επιφανείς τοις πολεμίοις των παρορμούντων πλοίων τὰ μέν συνέτρυμε, τὰ δ' ἔκαυσεν. 3 οὐ δυναμένων βοηθείν των περί Διονύσιον. μετά δε ταῦτ' είσπλεύσας εἰς τὸν λιμένα διέταξε τὰς ναῦς ώς επιθησόμενος ταις νενεωλκημέναις ύπο των πολεμίων. Διονύσιος δέ συναγαγών την δύναμιν έπι το στόμα του λιμένος, και θεωρών τους πολεμίους τον έκ τοῦ λιμένος ἔκπλουν παραφυλάττοντας, εὐλαβεῖτο καθέλκειν εἰς τὸν λιμένα τὰ σκάφη. ού γαρ ηγνόει διότι στενού του στόματος όντος

<sup>1</sup> την τ. Σ. πόλω Wesseling : τόν τ. Σ. πόλεμον. 2 την περί Hertlein : περί τήν,

the enemy to take refuge behind walls, led all his 207 ma army against Motyê; for he hoped that when this city had been reduced by siege, all the others would forthwith surrender themselves to him. Accordingly, he at once put many times more men on the task of filling up the strait between the city and the coast, and, as the mole was extended, advanced his engines

of war little by little toward the walls.

50. Meanwhile Himilcon, the admiral of the Carthaginians, hearing that Dionysius had hauled his warships up on land, manned at once his hundred best triremes; for he assumed that if he appeared unexpectedly, he should easily seize the vessels which were hauled up on land in the harbour, since he would be master of the sea. Once he succeeded in this, he believed, he would not only relieve the siege of Motye but also transfer the war to the city of the Syracusans. Sailing forth, therefore, with one hundred ships, he arrived during the night at the territory of Sclinus, skirted the promontory of Lilybaeum, and arrived at daybreak at Motyê. Since his appearance took the enemy by surprise, he disabled some of the vessels anchored along the shore by ramming and others by burning, for Dionysius was unable to come to their defence. After this he sailed into the harbour and drew up his ships as if to attack the vessels which the enemy had drawn up on land. Dionysius now massed his army at the entrance of the harbour; but when he saw that the enemy was lying in wait to attack as the ships left the harbour, he refused to risk launching his ships within the harbour, since he realized that the narrow entrance compelled a few ships to

ἀναγκαῖον ἢν ὀλίγαις ναυαὶ πρός πολλαπλασίους διακινδυνεύειν. διόπερ τῷ πλήθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν ραδίως διελκύσας τὰ σκάφη διὰ τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν ἐκτὸς τοῦ λιμένος θάλατταν διέσωσε τὰς ναῦς. Ἰμίλκων δὲ ταῖς πρώταις τριήρεσιν ἐπιθέμενος τῷ πλήθει τῶν βελῶν ἀνείργετο· ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν νεῶν ἐπεβεβήκει πλῆθος τοξοτῶν καὶ σφενδονητῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς γῆς τοῖς δξυβελέσι καταπέλταις οἱ Συρακόσιοι χρώμενοι συχνοὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἀνήρουν· καὶ γὰρ κατάπληξιν είχε μεγάλην τοῦτο τὸ βέλος διὰ τὸ πρώτως εὐρεθῆναι κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρόν· ὥστε Ἰμίλκων οὐ δυνάμενος κρατῆσαι τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Λιβύην, ναυμαχεῖν οὐ κρίνων συμφέρειν διὰ τὸ διπλασίας εἶναι τὰς ναῦς τῶν πολεμίων.

51. Διονύσιος δὲ τἢ πολυχειρία τῶν ἐργαζομένων συντελέσας τὸ χῶμα, προσήγαγε παντοίας 
μηχανὰς τοῖς τείχεσι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν κριοῖς ἔτυπτε 
τοὺς πύργους, τοῖς δὲ καταπέλταις ἀνέστελλε τοὺς 
ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπάλξεων μαχομένους προσήγαγε δὲ καὶ 
τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν τροχῶν πύργους τοῖς τείχεσιν, έξωρόφους ὅντας, οῦς κατεσκεύασε πρὸς τὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν 
2 ὕψος. οἰ δὲ τὴν Μοτύην κατοικοῦντες ἐν χερσὶ τοῦ 
κινδύνου καθεστῶτος ὅμως οὐ κατεπλάγησαν τὴν 
τοῦ Διονυσίου δύναμιν, καίπερ ὅντες ἔρημοι συμμάχων κατ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρόν. ὑπερτιθέμενοι δὲ 
τῆ ὁιλοδοξία τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον

<sup>8</sup> It is an interesting coincidence of history that the other

<sup>1</sup> ύπο των τροχών] ύποτρόχους Wesseling, Vogel.

is.s. in the narrow entrance Dionysius could not use the great advantage he had in numbers.

match themselves against an enemy many times more sor accumum rous. Consequently, using the multitude of his soldiers, he hauled his vessels over the land with no difficulty and launched them safely in the sea outside the harbour. Himileon attacked the first ships, but was held back by the multitude of missiles; for Dionysius had manned the ships with a great number of archers and slingers, and the Syracusans slew many of the enemy by using from the land the catapults which shotsharp-pointed missiles. Indeed this weapon created great dismay, because it was a new invention at this time. As a result, Himileon was unable to achieve his design and sailed away to Libya, believing that a sea-battle would serve no end, since the enemy's ships were double his in number.

51. After Dionysius had completed the mole by employing a large force of labourers, he advanced war engines of every kind against the walls and kept hammering the towers with his battering-rams, while with the catapults he kept down the fighters on the battlements; and he also advanced against the walls his wheeled towers, six stories high, which he had built to equal the height of the houses. The inhabitants of Motyê, now that the threat was at hand-grips, were nevertheless not dismayed by the armament of Dionysius, even though they had for the moment no allies to help them. Surpassing the besiegers in thirst for glory, they in the first place raised

use of a mole of such magnitude in ancient history against an island city was by Alexander the Great in 382 s.c. against Tyre, the mother-city of the Carthaginians. Alexander's mole was about half a mile long and reputed to be two hundred feet wide. For the story of the famous seven-month siege of Tyre see Book 17. 40-46, Arrian, Anab. 2. 18-24, Curtius, 4. 2-4.

έκ των μεγίστων ίστων κεραίαις Ισταμέναις έβάσταζον ανδρας εν θωρακίοις, οδτοι δ' άφ' ύψηλων τόπων δάδας ήμμενας ηφίεσαν καὶ στυππεῖα καιόμενα μετά πίττης είς τας των πολεμίων μηχανάς. 3 ταχύ δε της φλογός επινεμομένης την ύλην, όξέως οι Σικελιώται παραβοηθήσαντες ταύτην μεν απέσβεσαν, τοῖς δὲ κριοῖς πυκνάς τὰς ἐμβολὰς διδόντες κατέβαλου μέρος τοῦ τείχους. συνδραμόντων δ' έπι τον τόπον αθρόων εξ έκατέρου μέρους ισχυράν 4 συνέβαινε την μάχην γίνεσθαι. οι μεν γάρ Σικελιώται κεκρατηκέναι της πόλεως ήδη νομίζοντες, παν υπέμενον ένεκεν του τους Φοίνικας αμύνεσθαι. περί ων πρότερον είς αὐτούς ήμαρτήκεισαν οί δ' έκ της πόλεως προ όφθαλμων λαμβάνοντες τα της αίχμαλωσίας δεινά, και φυγήν οὐδεμίαν όρωντες ύπάρχουσαν ούτε κατά γην ούτε κατά θάλατταν. 5 οὐκ ἀγεννῶς ὑπέμενον τὸν θάνατον. θεωροῦντες δέ την από των τειχων επικουρίαν περιηρημένην, ένέφραττον τους στενωπούς, και ταις έσχάταις οικίαις έγρώντο καθάπερ τειχίω πολυτελώς ώκοδομημένω. όθεν εἰς μείζονα δυσχέρειαν οἱ περὶ ο τὸν Διονύσιον παρεγενήθησαν. παρεισπεσόντες γὰρ έντος του τείχους, και δοκούντες ήδη κυριεύειν τής πόλεως, ύπο των έν ταις οίκίαις οντων έξ ύπερδε-7 ξίων τόπων κατετιτρώσκοντο. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τούς ξυλίνους πύργους προσαγαγόντες ταις πρώταις οἰκίαις ἐπιβάθρας κατεσκεύασαν. ἴσων δ' ὅντων των μηχανημάτων τοις οικοδομήμασι, το λοιπον εκ χειρός συνέβαινεν είναι την μαχην. οι μεν γάρ Σικελιώται τὰς ἐπιβάθρας ἐπιρριπτοῦντες, διὰ τούτων έπὶ τὰς οἰκίας εβιάζοντο.

up men in crow's-nests resting on yard-arms sus- mr a.c. pended from the highest possible masts, and these from their lofty positions hurled lighted fire-brands and burning tow with pitch on the enemies' siege engines. The flame quickly caught the wood, but the Sicilian Greeks, dashing to the rescue, swiftly quenched it; and meantime the frequent blows of the battering-rams broke down a section of the wall. Since now both sides rushed with one accord to the place, the battle that ensued grew furious. For the Sicilian Greeks, believing that the city was already in their hands, spared no effort in retaliating upon the Phoenicians for former injuries they had suffered at their hands, while the people of the city, envisioning the terrible fate of a life of captivity and seeing no possibility of flight either by land or by sea, faced death stoutly. And finding themselves shorn of the defence of the walls, they barricaded the narrow lancs and made the last houses provide a lavishly constructed wall. From this came even greater difficulties for the troops of Dionysius. For after they had burst through the wall and seemed to be already masters of the city, they were raked by missiles from men posted in superior positions. Nevertheless. they advanced the wooden towers to the first houses and provided them with gangways 1; and since the siege machines were equal in height to the dwellings. the rest of the struggle was fought hand to hand. For the Sicilian Greeks would launch the gangways and force a passage by them on to the houses.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> These were small bridges which could be dropped or thrust from the towers across to opposing walls and in this case to the houses.

52. Οἱ δὲ Μοτυηνοὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοθ κινδύνου λογιζόμενοι, καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν τέκνων ἐν οφθαλμοίς όντων, τῷ περὶ τούτων φόβω προθυμότερον ηγωνίζοντο. οί μεν γάρ γονέων παρεστώτων και δεομένων μη περιιδείν αύτους τη τούτων υβρει παραδιδομένους επηγείροντο ταϊς ψυγαίς, οὐδεμίαν φειδώ του ζην ποιούμενοι, οί δέ γυναικών και νηπίων τέκνων θρήνον ακούοντες εσπευδον εύγενως αποθανείν, πρίν επιδείν την των 2 τέκνων αίχμαλωσίαν οὐδὲ γὰρ φυγείν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ήν, ώς αν περιεχούσης μεν θαλάττης, των δέ πολεμίων θαλαττοκρατούντων. εξέπληττέ τε καὶ μάλιστα ἀπογινώσκειν ἐποίει τοὺς Φοίνικας τὸ ώμῶς κεχρησθαί τοῖς τῶν Ελλήνων ήλωκόσιν. οίς ταυτό προσεδόκων πείσεσθαι, απελείπετ' ούν αύτοις εύγενως μαγομένοις ή νικάν ή τελευτάν. 3 τοιαύτης δε παραστάσεως έμπεσούσης είς τὰς τῶν πολιορκουμένων ψυχάς, συνέβαινε τους Σικελιώτας 4 είς πολλήν ἀπορίαν εμπίπτειν. ἀπό γαρ των έπερεισθεισών σανίδων μαχόμενοι κακώς απήλλαττον διά τε την στενοχωρίαν και διά το τους έναντίους απονενοημένως κινδυνεύειν, ώς αν απογινώσκοντας το ζην. ωσθ' οι μεν εις χείρας συμπλεκόμενοι καί τραύματα διδόντες και λαμβάνοντες απέθνησκον, οί δ' ύπο των Μοτυαίων εξωθούμενοι και από των σανίδων αποπίπτοντες είς την γην απώλλυντο. 5 τέλος δ' εφ' ήμέρας τοιαύτης τινός της πολιορκίας γινομένης, Διονύσιος αλεί πρός την έσπέραν τη σάλπιγγι τούς μαχομένους ανακαλούμενος έλυε την

52. The Motyans, as they took account of the 207 s.c. magnitude of the peril, and with their wives and children before their eyes, fought the more fiercely out of fear for their fate. There were some whose parents stood by entreating them not to let them be surrendered to the lawless will of victors, who were thus wrought to a pitch where they set no value on life: others, as they heard the laments of their wives and helpless children, sought to die like men rather than to see their children led into captivity. Flight of course from the city was impossible, since it was entirely surrounded by the sea, which was controlled by the enemy. Most appalling for the Phoenicians and the greatest cause of their despair was the thought how cruelly they had used their Greek captives and the prospect of their suffering the same treatment. Indeed there was nothing left for them but, fighting bravely, either to conquer or die. When such an obstinate mood filled the souls of the besieged, the Sicilian Greeks found themselves in a very difficult position. For, fighting as they were from the suspended wooden bridges, they suffered grievously both because of the narrow quarters and because of the desperate resistance of their opponents, who had abandoned hope of life. As a result, some perished in hand-to-hand encounter as they gave and received wounds, and others, pressed back by the Motyans and tumbling from the wooden bridges, fell to their death on the ground. In the end, while the kind of siege we have described had lasted some days, Dionysius made it his practice always toward evening to sound the trumpet for the recall of the fighters and break off

So Wurm: κεχρημένους. <sup>2</sup> So Wurm: οῖ. <sup>4</sup> τῶν added by Richstädt.

πολιορκίαν. els τοιαύτην δε συνήθειαν τους Μοτυαίους άγαγών, επειδή παρ' έκατέρων οι κινδυνεύοντες άπηλθον, άπεστειλεν Άρχύλον τον Θούριον β μετά των έπιλέκτων ούτος δ' ήδη νυκτός ούσης

προσήρεισε ταις πεπτωκυίαις οικίαις κλίμακας, δι' ων άναβάς και καταλαβόμενος τινα τόπον ευ-

7 καιρον παρεδέχετο τούς περί τον Διονύσιον. οί δὲ Μοτυαΐοι τὸ γεγενημένον αἰσθόμενοι παραυτίκα μετὰ πάσης σπουδής παρεβοήθουν, καὶ τῶν καιρῶν ὑστεροῦντες οὐδὰν ἦττον ὑπέστησαν τὸν κίνδυνον. γενομένης δὲ τῆς μάχης ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ πολλῶν προσαναβάντων, μόγις οἱ Σικελιῶται τῷ πλήθει κατ-

επόνησαν τους ανθεστηκότας.

53. Εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦ χώματος ή δύναμις άπασα τοῦ Διονυσίου παρεισέπεσεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ πᾶς τόπος έγεμε τῶν ἀναιρουμένων οί γὰρ Σικελιώται ώμότητα ώμότητι σπεύδοντες άμύνεσθαι, πάντας έξης ανήρουν, απλώς οὐ παιδός, οὐ 2 γυναικός, ού πρεσβύτου φειδόμενοι. Διονύσιος δέ βουλόμενος έξανδραποδίσασθαι την πόλιν, δπως άθροισθή γρήματα, το μέν πρώτον άνειργε τούς στρατιώτας του φονεύειν τους αιχμαλώτους ώς δ' ούδεις αυτώ προσείχεν, άλλ' έώρα την τών Σικελιωτών όρμην ακατάσχετον ούσαν, παρεστήσατο κήρυκας τούς μετά βοής δηλώσοντας τοίς Μοτυαίοις φυγείν είς τὰ παρά τοῖς Ελλησιν Ιερά 3 τιμώμενα. οὖ γενηθέντος οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται τοῦ φονεύειν έληγον, έπὶ δὲ τὴν τῶν κτήσεων διαρπαγὴν ωρμησαν και διεφορείτο πολύς μεν άργυρος, ούκ ολίγος δε χρυσός, και εσθήτες πολυτελείς και τής άλλης εύδαιμονίας πλήθος. την δε της πόλεως διαρπαγήν έδωκεν ο Διονύσιος τοις στρατιώταις,

the siege. When he had accustomed the Motyans 507 s.c. to such a practice, the combatants on both sides retiring, he dispatched Archylus of Thurii with the élite troops, who, when night had fallen, placed ladders against the fallen houses, and mounting by them, seized an advantageous spot where he admitted Dionysius' troops. The Motyans, when they perceived what had taken place, at once rushed to the rescue with all eagerness, and although they were too late, none the less faced the struggle. The battle grew sierce and abundant reinforcements elimbed the ladders, until at last the Sicilian Greeks were down

their opponents by weight of numbers.

53. Straightway Dionysius' entire army burst into the city, coming also by the mole, and now every spot was a scene of mass slaughter; for the Sicilian Greeks, eager to return cruelty for cruelty, slew everyone they encountered, sparing without distinction not a child, not a woman, not an elder. Dionysius, wishing to sell the inhabitants into slavery for the money he could gather, at first attempted to restrain the soldiers from murdering the captives, but when no one paid any attention to him and he saw that the fury of the Sicilian Greeks was not to be controlled, he stationed heralds to cry aloud and tell the Motyans to take refuge in the temples which were revered by the Greeks. When this was done. the soldiers ceased their slaughter and turned to looting the property; and the plunder yielded much silver and not a little gold, as well as costly raiment and an abundance of every other product of felicity. The city was given over by Dionysius to the soldiers

<sup>1</sup> ωμότητα ωμότητι Madvig, ωμότητι PK, ωμότητα ost.

βουλόμενος προθύμους αὐτούς ποιήσαι πρός τούς 4 επιφερομένους κινδύνους. από δε τούτων γενόμενος 'Αρχύλον τον αναβάντα πρώτον επὶ το τείχος έκατον μναις εστεφάνωσεν, των δ' αλλων κατά την άξιαν εκαστον των ηνδραγαθηκότων ετίμησεν. καὶ τῶν Μοτυαίων τους περιλειφθέντας έλαφυροπώλησεν. Δαϊμένην δέ καί τινας των Ελλήνων συμμαχούντας Καρχηδονίοις λαβών αίχμαλώτους 5 ανεσταύρωσεν. μετά δε ταῦτα φύλακας τῆς πόλεως καταστήσας, Βίτωνα τον Συρακόσιον φρούραρχον απέδειξε το δε πλείον μέρος εκ των Σικελών ύπηρχεν. και Λεπτίνην μέν τον ναύαρχον μετά νεών είκοσι και έκατον εκελευσεν παρατηρείν την διάβασιν των Καρχηδονίων, συνέταξε δ' αὐτώ την Αίγεσταν και την Εντελλαν πολιορκείν, καθάπερ εξ άρχης πορθείν αὐτὰς ενεστήσατο αὐτὸς δέ τοῦ θέρους ήδη λήγοντος ανέζευξε μετά της δυνάμεως είς Συρακούσας.

6 'Εν δε ταις 'Αθήναις Σοφοκλής ο Σοφοκλέους'
τραγωδίαν διδάσκειν ήρξατο και νίκας έσχε

δεκαδύο.

54. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσιαίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μὲν ἔλαβε τήν ἀρχήν Φορμίων, ἐν Ῥώμη δ' ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐγένοντο χιλίαρχοι ἔξ, Γναῖος Γενούκιος, Λεύκιος 'Ατίλιος, Μάρκος Πομπώνιος, Γάιος Δυίλιος, Μάρκος Οὐετούριος, Οὐαλέριος Ποπλίλιος, 'Ολυμπιὰς δ' ήχθη ἐνενηκοστὴ καὶ ἔκτη, 2 καθ' ἡν ἐνίκα Εὔπολις 'Ηλεῖος. τούτων δὲ τὴν

¹ ἐκέλευσεν added by Vogel. 8 αὐτῷ] Vogel suggests δ' ᾿Αρχύλω. 3 αὐτὰς] αὐτὴν ΡΑ.

δ Σοφοκλέους omitted P.
 καθ' added by Hertlein.

to plunder, since he wished to what their appetites 207 H.O. for future encounters. After this success he rewarded Archylus, who had been the first to mount the wall. with one hundred minas,1 and honoured according to their merits all others who had performed deeds of valour; he also sold as booty the Motyans who survived, but he crucified Daimenes and other Greeks who had fought on the side of the Carthaginians and had been taken captive. After this Dionysius stationed guards in the city whom he put under the command of Biton of Syracuse; and the garrison was composed largely of Siceli. He ordered Leptines his admiral with one hundred and twenty ships to lie in wait for any attempt by the Carthaginians to cross to Sicily; and he also assigned to him the siege of Acgesta and Entella, in accordance with his original plan to sack them. Then, since the summer was already coming to a close, he marched back to Syracuse with his army.

In Athens Sophocles, the son 1 of Sophocles, began to produce tragedies and won the first prize twelve

times.

54. When the year had come to an end, in Athens 356 a.o. Phormion assumed the archonship and in Rome six military tribunes took the place of the consuls, Gnaeus Genucius, Lucius Atilius, Marcus Pomponius, Gaius Duilius, Marcus Veturius, and Valerius Publilius; and the Ninety-sixth Olympiad was celebrated, that in which Eupolis of Elis was the victor. In the year

<sup>1</sup> Some \$1800.
2 He was the grandson of the great tragedian.
3 In the "stadion."

άρχην παραλαβόντων Διονύσιος ό τῶν Συρακοσίων τύραννος μετά πάσης της δυνάμεως αναζεύξας έκ Συρακουσών ενέβαλεν είς την των Καρχηδονίων επικράτειαν. πορθούντος δ' αὐτοῦ την χώραν, Αλικυαίοι μέν καταπλαγέντες διεπρεσβεύσαντο πρός αὐτόν καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσαντο, Αἰγεσταίοι δέ τοις πολιορκούσι νυκτός απροσδοκήτως έπιθέμενοι, καὶ πῦρ ἐνέντες ταῖς κατὰ τὴν παρεμβολὴν σκηναίς, είς πολλήν ταραχήν ήγαγον τούς έν τή 3 στρατοπεδεία επινεμηθείσης δε της φλογός επί πολύν τόπον, και του πυρός άκατασχέτου γενηθάντος, των μέν παραβοηθούντων στρατιωτών ολίγοι διεφθάρησαν, των δ' ιππων<sup>1</sup> οι πλείστοι 4 ταις σκηναις συγκατεκαύθησαν. και Διονύσιος μέν έδήου την χώραν ούδενος ύφισταμένου, Λεπτίνης δ' ο ναύαρχος περί Μοτύην διατρίβων επετήρει τον των πολεμίων κατάπλουν.

Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι πυθόμενοι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τοῦ Διονυσίου δυνάμεως, ἔκριναν πολὺ ταῖς παρα5 σκευαῖς αὐτὸν ὑπερθέσθαι. διόπερ 'Ιμίλκωνα βασιλέα κατὰ νόμον καταστήσαντες, ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης 
ὅλης, ἔτι δ' ἐκ τῆς 'Ιβηρίας συνήγαγον δυνάμεις, 
τὰς μὲν παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων μεταπεμπόμενοι, τὰς 
δὲ μισθούμενοι· καὶ πέρας ἤθροισαν πεζῶν μὲν 
ὑπὲρ τὰς τριάκοντα μυριάδας, ὑππεῖς δὲ τετρακισχιλίους χωρὶς τῶν ἀρμάτων· ταῦτα δ' ἦσαν 
τετρακόσια· ναῦς δὲ μακρὰς μὲν τετρακοσίας, τὰς 
δὲ τὸν σῦτον καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην 
ὑπηρεσίαν παρακομιζούσας πλείους τῶν ἐξακοσίων, 
6 καθάπερ φησὶν Εφορος. Τίμαιος μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἐκ

#### BOOK XIV. 54, 2-6

when these magistrates entered office Dionysius, the me a.c. tyrant of the Syracusans, set out from Syracuse with his entire army and invaded the domain of the Carthaginians. While he was laying waste the countryside, the Halieyaeans in dismay sent an embassy to him and concluded an alliance. But the Aegestaeans, falling unexpectedly by night on their besiegers and setting fire to the tents where they were camped, threw the men in the encampment into great confusion; for since the flames spread over a large area and the fire could not be brought under control, a few of the soldiers who came to the rescue lost their lives and most of the horses were burned, together with the tents. Now Dionysius ravaged the Carthaginian territory without meeting any opposition, and Leptines his admiral from his quarters in Motve kept watch against any approach of the enemy by sea.

The Carthaginians, when they learned of the magnitude of the armament of Dionysius, resolved far to surpass him in their preparations. Consequently, lawfully according Himilton sovereign power, they gathered armaments from all Libya as well as from Iberia, summoning some from their allies and in other cases hiring mercenaries. In the end they collected more than three hundred thousand infantry, four thousand cavalry in addition to chariots, which numbered four hundred, four hundred ships of war, and over six hundred other vessels to convey food and engines of war and other supplies. These are the numbers stated by Ephorus. Timacus, on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Strictly speaking, Himilton was chosen one of the two annually elected suffetes, who corresponded in general to the Roman consuls, and put in command of the war.

So Reiske: landow.

τῆς Λιβύης περαιωθείσας δυνάμεις οὐ πλείω φησίν είναι δέκα μυριάδων, καὶ πρὸς ταύταις έτέρας τρεῖς ἀποφαίνεται κατὰ Σικελίαν στρατολογηθείσας.

55. Ίμιλκων δὲ τοῖς κυβερνήταις άπασι δούς Βυβλίου επεσφραγισμένου, εκέλευσεν ανοίγειν όταν έκπλεύσωσι και ποιείν τα γεγραμμένα. τοῦτο δ' έμηχανήσατο πρός το μηδένα τῶν κατασκόπων άπαγγείλαι τον κατάπλουν τω Διονυσίω ήν δέ γεγραμμένον, όπως ές Πάνορμον καταπλεύσωσιν. 2 διόπερ επιγενομένου πνεύματος οὐρίου καὶ πάντων λυσάντων τὰ πρυμνήσια, τὰ μέν φορτηγά τῶν πλοίων έπλει διά του πελάγους, αι δε τριήρεις επλευσαν είς την Λιβυκήν, παρελέγοντό τε την νην. φορού δε πνεύματος όντος, ώς ήδη καταφανείς ήσαν ἀπὸ τῆς Σικελίας αἱ πρώται πλέουσαι των φορτηγών νεών, Διονύσιος απέστειλε Λεπτίνην μετά τριάκοντα τριήρων, παρακελευσάμενος τύπτειν τοις εμβόλοις και διαφθείρειν απάσας τας 3 καταλαμβανομένας. δε μετά σπουδής έκπλεύσας και ταις πρώταις προσμίξας εύθέως τινάς αυτάνδρους κατέδυσεν αί δε λοιπαί πλήρεις ούσαι καί τον ανεμον τοις ιστίοις δεχόμεναι ραδίως εξέφυγον. όμως κατέδυσε πεντήκοντα ναθς στρατιώτας έχούσας πεντακισχιλίους, αρματα δέ διακόσια.

Ίμίλκων δέ καταπλεύσας εἰς Πάνορμον καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐκβιβάσας ἡγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τὰς μὲν τριήρεις παραπλεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐν παρόδω διὰ προδοσίας έλων "Ερυκα πρὸς τὴν

<sup>1</sup> Sweper omitted by PAL, Vogel.

the other hand, says that the troops transported as no. from Libya did not exceed one hundred thousand and declares that an additional thirty thousand were

enlisted in Sicily.

55. Himilton gave sealed orders to all the pilots with commands to open them after they had sailed and to carry out the instructions. He devised this scheme in order that no spy should be able to report to Dionysius where they would put in; and the orders read for them to put in at Panormus. When a favourable wind arose, all the vessels east off their cables and the transports put out to open sea, but the triremes sailed into the Libyan Sea and skirted the land.1 The wind continued favourable, and as soon as the leading vessels of the transports were visible from Sicily, Dionysius dispatched Leptines with thirty triremes under orders to ram and destroy all he could intercept. Leptines sailed forth promptly and straightway sank, together with their men, the first ships he encountered, but the rest, having all canvas spread and catching the wind with their sails, easily made their escape. Nevertheless, fifty ships were sunk, together with five thousand soldiers and two hundred chariots.

After Himilcon had put in at Panormus and disembarked his army, he advanced toward the enemy, ordering the triremes to sail along beside him; and having himself taken Eryx by treachery as he passed,

The course of the triremes was to divert attention from the route of the transports. When sighted, as they would be, going east, Dionyslus might well fear that they intended an attack on Syracuse. How the triremes got to Panormus without an encounter with Leptines is not told us.

<sup>\*</sup> Λιβυκήν Post, Μοτύην Eichstädt, Λιλύβαιον άκραν Holm: Λιβόην.

Μοτύην κατεστρατοπέδευσεν. όντος δε κατά τοῦτον τον χρόνον του Διονυσίου περί την Αίγεσταν μετά της δυνάμεως, 'Ιμίλκων την Μοτύην έξεπο-5 λιόρκησεν. τῶν δὲ Σικελιωτῶν προθύμων οντων διαμάχεσθαι, Διονύσιος αμα μέν μακράν των συμμαχίδων πόλεων άπεωσμένος, αμα δε της σιτοπομπίας επιλειπούσης, διέλαβε συμφέρειν εφ' επέρων 6 τόπων συστήσασθαι τον πόλεμον. κρίνας οδν άναζευγνύειν, τούς μεν Σικανούς έπειθε καταλιπείν τάς πόλεις κατά το παρον και μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατεύεσθαι άντι δε τούτων επηγγέλλετο δώσειν χώραν βελτίονα και τῷ πλήθει παραπλησίαν και μετά τὴν του πολέμου κατάλυσιν κατάξειν τους βουλομένους 7 είς τὰς πατρίδας. τῶν δὲ Σικανῶν ὀλίγοι, καταπλαγέντες μήποτε αντιλέγοντες διαρπασθώσιν ύπο τῶν στρατιωτῶν, συγκατέθεντο τοῖς ἀξιουμένοις ύπο Διονυσίου. ἀπέστησαν δὲ παραπλησίως καὶ Αλικυαῖοι καὶ πέμψαντες πρέσβεις εἰς τὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατόπεδον συμμαχίαν εποιήσαντο. καὶ Διονύσιος μεν ἀφώρμησεν ἐπὶ Συρακουσῶν, καταφθείρων την χώραν δι' ής ήγε την δύναuw.

56. Ἰμίλκων δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων προχωρούντων κατὰ γνώμην παρεσκευάζετο τὴν στρατιὰν ἀνάγειν ἐπὶ Μεσσήνης, σπεύδων αὐτῆς κυριεῦσαι διὰ τὴν εὐκαιρίαν τῶν τόπων. ὅ τε γὰρ ἐν αὐτῆ λιμὴν εὕθετος ἢν, δυνάμενος δέχεσθαι πάσας τὰς ναῦς, οὕσας πλείω τῶν έξακοσίων, τά τε περὶ τὸν πορθμὸν οἰκεῖα ποιησάμενος Ἰμίλκων ἤλπιζε τὰς τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν βοηθείας ἐμφράξειν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου στόλους ἐπισχεῖν. ταῦτα δὲ διανοηθεῖς πράττειν, πρὸς τοὺς μὰν Ἰμεραίους καὶ τοὺς τὸ

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he took up quarters before Motyê. Since Dionysius 200 n.o. and his army were during this time at Aegeste, Himilcon reduced Motyê by siege. Although the Sicilian Greeks were eager for a hattle, Dionysius conceived it to be better, both because he was widely separated from his allied cities and because the transport of his food supplies was reduced, to renew the war in other areas. Having decided, therefore, to break camp, he proposed to the Sicani to abandon their cities for the present and to join him in the campaign; and in return he promised to give them richer territory of about equal size and, at the conclusion of the war, to return to their native cities any who so wished. Of the Sieani only a few, fearing that, if they refused, they would be plundered by the soldiers, agreed to Dionysius' offer. The Halicyacans similarly deserted him and sent ambassadors to the Carthaginian camp and concluded an alliance with them. And Dionysius set out for Syracuse, laying waste the territory through which he led his army.

56. Himilton, now that his affairs were proceeding as he wished, made preparations to lead his army against Messene, being anxious to get control of the city because of its favourable facilities; for it had an excellent harbour, capable of accommodating all his ships, which numbered more than six hundred, and Himilton also hoped that by getting possession of the straits he would be able to bar any aid from the Italian Greeks and hold in check the fleets that might come from the Peloponnesus. With this programme in mind, he formed relations of friendship with the

So Eichstädt : dedywe.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> οἰκεῖα ποιησάμενος] Vogel suggests from 18. 13. I ίδιοποιησάμενος.

Κεφαλοίδιον φρούριον κατοικοθντας φιλίαν εποιήσατο, Λιπάρας δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος τριάκοντα τάλαντα παρὰ τῶν κατοικούντων τὴν νήσον ἐπράξατο αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως ώρμησεν επί Μεσσήνης, συμπαραπλεουσών 3 αὐτῶ τῶν νεῶν, καὶ ταχὸ διανύσας τὴν όδον κατεστρατοπέδευσεν επί της Πελωρίδος, απέχων της Μεσσήνης σταδίους έκατόν, οι δε την πόλιν ταύτην κατοικούντες ώς επύθοντο την παρουσίαν των πολεμίων, οὐ τὰς αὐτάς ἀλλήλοις ἐννοίας είχον 4 περί του πολέμου. τινές μέν γάρ αὐτών το μέγεθος της των πολεμίων δυνάμεως ακούοντες, και την έρημίαν τῶν συμμάχων δρώντες, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ίδιων Ιππέων εν Συρακούσαις δντων, απεγνώκεισαν την έκ της πολιορκίας σωτηρίαν. μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς εἰς ἀθυμίαν ήγε τὰ τείχη καταπεπτωκότα και ο καιρός είς παρασκευήν ου διδούς άνεσιν. διόπερ εξεκόμιζον εκ της πόλεως τέκνα καὶ γυναίκας και τὰ πολυτελέστατα τῶν χρημάτων εἰς ο τάς αστυγείτονας πόλεις. τινές δέ των Μεσσηνίων ακούοντές τι παλαιόν αύτοις είναι λόγιον, ότι δεί Καρχηδονίους ύδροφορήσαι κατά την πόλιν, έξεδέχουτο το κατά την φήμην πρός το συμφέρου έαυτοίς, νομίζοντες δουλεύσειν έν Μεσσήνη τούς 6 Καργηδονίους. διό και ταις ψυχαις εὐθαρσείς όντες πολλούς και των άλλων προθύμους εποιούντο είς τούς ύπερ της ελευθερίας κινδύνους. εὐθέως δέ των νεωτέρων ἐπιλέξαντες τούς ἀρίστους ἀπέστειλαν έπὶ τὴν Πελωρίδα κωλύσοντας τούς πολεμίους επιβαίνειν της χώρας.

57. Περί ταθτα δ' ὄντων αὐτῶν, Ἰμίλκων θεω-

1 rd added by Reiske.

Himeraeans and the dwellers in the fort of Cepha- 205 a.c. locdium, and seizing the city of Lipara, he exacted thirty talents from the inhabitants of the island. Then he set out in person with his entire army toward Messene, his ships sailing along the coast beside him. Completing the distance in a brief time, he pitched his camp at Peloris, at a distance of one hundred stades from Messenê. When the inhabitants of this city learned that the enemy was at hand, they could not agree among themselves about the war. One party, when they heard reports of the great size of the enemy's army and observed that they themselves were without any allies-what is more, that their own cavalry were at Syracuse-were fully convinced that nothing could save them from capture. What contributed most to their despair was the fact that their walls had fallen down and that the situation allowed no time for their repair. Consequently they removed from the city their children and wives and most valuable possessions to neighbouring cities. Another party of the Messenians, however, hearing of a certain ancient oracle of theirs which ran, "Carthaginians must be bearers of water in Messene," interpreted the utterance to their advantage, believing that the Carthaginians would serve as slaves in Messene. Consequently not only were they in a hopeful mood, but they made many others eager to face battle for their freedom. At once, then, they selected the ablest troops from among their young men and dispatched them to Peloris to prevent the enemy from entering their territory.

57. While the Messenians were busied in this way,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Some fifteen mlles east of Himera. <sup>2</sup> On Lipara see Book 5. 10.

ρων εκβοηθούντας τους Μεσσηνίους περί την απόβασιν, απέστειλε των νεών διακοσίας επί την πόλιν ήλπιζε γάρ, όπερ ην είκός, των στρατιωτών την απόβασιν κωλυόντων τους έν ταις ναυσί κυριεύσειν ραδίως της Μεσσήνης ούσης ερήμου των 2 άμυνομένων. πνεύσαντος δε βορέου τὰς μεν ναῦς συνέβη ταχέως πλήρεσι τοις ιστίοις είς τον λιμένα κατενεχθήναι, τους δ' έπι τη Πελωρίδι παραφυλάττοντας Μεσσηνίους ύστερήσαι της των νεών παρουσίας, καίπερ κατά σπουδήν επειγομένους. 3 διόπερ οι Καρχηδόνιοι περιστρατοπεδεύσαντες την Μεσσήνην και δια των πεπτωκότων τειχών είσ-4 βιασάμενοι της πόλεως εκυρίευσαν. των δε Μεσσηνίων οί μεν μαχόμενοι γενναίως άνηρέθησαν, οί δ' είς τὰς έγγυτάτω κειμένας πόλεις έφυγον, ὁ δὲ πολύς όχλος διά των παρακειμένων όρων όρμήσας 5 είς τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν φρούρια διεσπάρη τῶν δὲ άλλων τινές μεν ύπο των πολεμίων συνελαμβάνοντο, τινές δε αποληφθέντες είς το προς τον λιμένα μέρος ερρυμαν έαυτους είς την θάλατταν, ελπίζοντες διανήξασθαι τον μεταξύ πόρον. τούτων δὲ όντων πλειόνων ή διακοσίων, οι πλείστοι μεν ύπο τοθ ρού διεφθάρησαν, πεντήκοντα δε πρός την 'Ιταλίαν 6 διεσώθησαν. 'Ιμίλκων δε την δύναμιν απασαν μεταγαγών είς την πόλιν, το μέν πρώτον έπεχείρησε πορθείν τὰ κατά τὴν χώραν φρούρια, τούτων δ' όχυρων όντων, και των είς αὐτά συμπεφευγότων γενναίως άγωνιζομένων, άνέστρεψεν είς την πόλιν, άδυνατήσας αυτών κυριεύσαι. μετά δε ταθτα τήν τε δύναμιν ανελάμβανε και παρεσκευάζετο την πορείαν επί Συρακούσας ποιείσθαι.

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<sup>1</sup> So Wesseling: mohir.

Himilcon, seeing that they had sallied against his see a.c. place of landing, dispatched two hundred ships against the city, for he hoped, as well he might, that while the soldiers were trying to prevent his landing, the crews of the ships would easily seize Messene, stripped of defenders as it was. A north wind sprang up and the ships with all canvas spread entered the harbour, while the Messenians who were on guard at Peloris, in spite of their hurried return, failed to arrive before the ships. Consequently the Carthaginians invested Messene, forced their way through the fallen walls, and made themselves masters of the city. Of the Messenians, some were slain as they put up a gallant fight, others fled to the nearest cities, but the great mass of the common people took to flight through the surrounding mountains and scattered among the fortresses of the territory; of the rest, some were captured by the enemy and some, who had been cut off in the area near the harbour. hurled themselves into the sea in hopes of swimming across the intervening strait. These numbered more than two hundred and most of them were overcome by the current, only fifty making their way in safety to Italy. Himilcon now brought his entire army into the city and at first set to work to reduce the forts over the countryside; but since they were strongly situated and the men who had fled to them put up gallant struggles, he retired to the city, having found himself unable to master them. After this he refreshed his army and made preparations to advance against Syracuse.

58. Οἱ δὲ Σικελοί, πάλαι μὲν μισοῦντες τὸν Διονύσιον, τότε δὲ καιρὸν τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἔχοντες, μετεβάλοντο πρός Καρχηδονίους πλήν 'Ασσωρίνων άπαντες. Διονύσιος δ' έν ταις Συρακούσαις τους δούλους έλευθερώσας, επλήρωσεν έξ αὐτῶν ναῦς έξήκοντα μετεπέμψατο δέ και παρά Λακεδαιμονίων μισθοφόρους πλείω τῶν χιλίων, καὶ τὰ κατά την χώραν φρούρια περιπορευόμενος ώχύρου και σίτον παρεκόμιζεν επιμελέστατα δε τας έν Λεοντίνοις ακροπόλεις έτείχισε και τον έκ των 2 πεδίων σίτον είς ταύτας συνήθροισεν. Επεισε δέ καί τούς την Κατάνην οἰκοῦντας Καμπανούς είς την νθν καλουμένην Αίτνην μεταστήναι διά το λίαν είναι τὸ φρούριον όχυρόν. μετὰ δὲ ταθτα ἀπὸ τῶν Συρακουσών έκατον έξήκοντα σταδίους προαγαγών απασαν την δύναμιν καπεστρατοπέδευσε περί τον Ταῦρον καλούμενον. είχε δε κατ' ἐκεῖνον τον καιρον πεζούς μεν τρισμυρίους, ίππεις δε πλείους τῶν τρισχιλίων, ναῦς δὲ ἐκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα· τούτων δ' ολίγαι μεν ήσαν τριήρεις.

3 'Ιμίλκων δὲ τὰ τείχη τῆς Μεσσήνης κατασκάψας προσέταξε τοῖς στρατιώταις καταβαλεῖν τὰς οἰκίας εἰς ἔδαφος, καὶ μήτε κέραμον μήθ' ὕλην μήτ' ἄλλο μηδὰν ὑπολιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὰν κατακαῦσαι, τὰ δὲ συντρῦψαι. ταχὺ δὲ τῆ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πολυχειρία λαβόντων τῶν ἔργων συντέλειαν, ἡ πόλις ἄγνωστος ἐ ἢν ὅτι\* πρότερον αὐτὴν οἰκεῖσθαι συνέβαινεν. ὁρῶν γὰρ τὸν τόπον πόρρω μὰν ἀπὸ τῶν συμμαχίδων πόλεων κεχωρισμένον, εὐκαιρότατον δὲ τῶν περὶ Σικελίαν ὅντα, προήρητο δυεῖν θάτερον, ἢ τελέως ἀρίκητον διατηρεῖν ἢ δυσχερῆ καὶ πολυχρόνιον τὴν

κτίσιν αυτής γίνεσθαι.

# BOOK XIV. 58, 1-4

58. The Siceli, who had hated Dionysius from of soo n.c. old and now had an opportunity to revolt, went over in a body, with the exception of the people of Assorus, to the Carthaginians. In Syracuse Dionysius set free the slaves and manned sixty ships from their numbers: he also summoned over a thousand mercenaries from the Lacedaemonians, and went about the countryside strengthening the fortresses and storing them with provisions. He was most concerned, however, to fortify the citadels of the Leontines and to store in them the harvest from the plains. He also persunded the Campanians who were dwelling in Catanê to move to Aetne, as it is now called, since it was an exceptionally strong fortress. After this he led forth his entire army one hundred and sixty stades from Syracuse and encamped near Taurus, as it is called. He had at that time thirty thousand infantry, more than three thousand cavalry, and one hundred and eighty ships of war, of which only a few were triremes.

Himilton threw down the walls of Messene and issued orders to his soldiers to raze to the ground the dwellings, and to leave not a tile or timber or anything else but either to hum or break them. When the many hands of the soldiers speedily accomplished this task, no one would have known that the site had been occupied. For, reflecting that the place was far separated from the cities which were his allies and yet was the most strategically situated of any in Sicily, he had determined that he would see either that it was kept uninhabited or that it was an arduous and prolonged task to rebuild it.

<sup>1</sup> scal after 82 omitted F. Dindorf, Vogel. 2 or: Wesseling: ore Pa F1, ore wou cet.

59. Έναποδειξάμενος οὖν τὸ πρός τοὺς ελληνας μῖσος ἐν τῆ τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἀτυχία, Μάγωνα μὲν τὸν ναύαρχον ἀπέστειλε μετὰ τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως, προστάξας παραπλεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον τὸν καλούμενον Ταῦρον. τοῦτον δὲ κατειληφότες ἦσαν Σικελοί, συχνοὶ μὲν τὸ πλῆθος ὅντες, οὐδένα δ' ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνα. τούτοις δὲ τὸ μὲν πρότερον Διονύσιος δεδώκει τὴν τῶν Ναξίων χώραν, τότε δ' ὑπ' Ἰμίλκου πεισθέντες ἐπαγγελίαις τὸν λόφον κατελάβοντο. ἀχυροῦ δ' ὄντος τούτου, καὶ τύτε καὶ μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον ῷκουν αὐτὸν τεῖχος περιβαλόμενοι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ μεῖναι τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Ταῦρον ἀθροισθέντας Ταυρομένιον ἀνόμασαν.

τονον την πορείαν εποιείτο, και κατήντησε της Ναξίας επί τον προειρημένον τόπον, αμα καί Μάγωνος καταπλεύσαντος. προσφάτως δὲ πυρός έκραγέντος έκ της Αίτνης μέχρι της θαλάττης, ούκέτι δυνατόν ήν την πεζην στρατιάν συμπαράγειν παραπλεούσαις ταις ναυσίν εφθαρμένων γάρ των παρά την θάλατταν τόπων ύπο τοῦ καλουμένου ούακος, άναγκαΐον ήν το πεζον στρατόπεδον περι-4 πορεύεσθαι τον της Λίτνης λόφον. διόπερ Μάγωνι προσέταξε καταπλείν επί της Κατάνης, αυτός δέ διά της μεσογείου ταχέως δρμήσας έσπευδε συμμίξαι ταίς ναυσί περί τον τών Καταναίων αίγιαλόν εύλαβείτο γάρ μήποτε διεσπαρμένης της δυνάμεως οι Σικελιώται τοῦς περί τον Μάγωνα 5 διαναυμαχήσωσιν όπερ καί συνετελέσθη. Διονύ-

<sup>1</sup> So Reiske, σνετάλεσεν P, συνετάλεσαν A, συνετάλεσε cel.

# BOOK XIV. 59, 1-8

59. After Himilcon had exhibited his hatred for see a.c. the Greeks by the calamity he visited upon the Messenians, he dispatched Magon his admiral with his naval armament under orders to sail to the peak known as Taurus.1 This area had been taken by Siceli in large numbers, who, however, had no leader. They had formerly been given by Dionysius the territory of the Naxians, but at this time, having been induced by Himilton's offers, they occupied this peak. Since it was a strong position, both at this time and subsequent to the war, they made it their home, throwing a wall about it, and since those who gathered remained (menein) upon Taurus, they named the city Tauromenium.

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Himilton, advancing with his land forces, made so rapid a march that he arrived at the place we have mentioned in the territory of Naxos at the same time as Magon put in there by sea. But since there had recently been a fiery eruption from Mt. Aetne as far as the sea, it was no longer possible for the land forces to advance in the company of the ships as they sailed beside them; for the regions along the sea were laid waste by the lava, as it is called, so that the land army had to take its way around the peak of Aetne. Consequently he gave orders to Magon to come to port at Catane, while he himself advanced speedily through the heart of the country with the intention of joining the ships on the Catanaean shore; for he was concerned lest, when his forces were divided, the Sicilian Greeks should fight a battle with Magon at sea. And this is what actually took place. For Dionysius, when

<sup>2</sup> Cp. cliap, 15, 8.

<sup>1</sup> This is not the Taurus mentioned just above which lay near Syracuse, but the site of the later Tauromenium.

σιος γάρ τον μέν πλούν είδως τῷ Μάγωνι βραχύν όντα, την δέ πορείαν τοῖς πεζοῖς έργώδη καὶ μακράν, εσπευδεν επί της Κατάνης, βουλόμενος ναυμαχήσαι πρός Μάγωνα πρίν έλθειν τούς περί τον 6 Ιμίλκωνα. ήλπιζε γάρ των πεζών εκτεταγμένων παρά τον αίγιαλον τοις μέν ίδίοις θάρσος παρέξεσθαι, τους δε πολεμίους δειλοτέρους εσεσθαι. τό δὲ μέγιστον, εἴ τι συμβαίη γενέσθαι πταῖσμα, ταις θλιβομέναις ναυσίν έξην καταφυγείν πρός το 7 των πεζών στρατόπεδον. ταύτα δε διανοπθείς Λεπτίνην μέν απέστειλε μετά πασών τών νεών, παραγγείλας άθρόοις τοῖς σκάφεσι ναυμαχεῖν καὶ μη λύειν την τάξιν όπως μη κινδυνεύσωσιν ύπο του πλήθους των έναντίων είχον γάρ οί περί τον Μάνωνα σύν ταις όλκάσι και ταις άλλαις ταις επικώποις, ούσαις χαλκεμβόλοις, ναθς ούκ ελάττους πεντακοσίων.

60. Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι ὡς είδον τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τῶν πεζῶν πλήρη καὶ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς ναῦς ἐπιφερομένας, παραχρῆμα μὲν οὐ μετρίως ἢγωνίασαν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἐπεχείρησαν καταπλεῖν μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα λογισάμενοι διότι κινδυνεύσουσιν ἀπολέσθαι πρὸς τὰς ναῦς ἄμα καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς μαχόμενοι, ταχέως μετενόησαν. κρίναντες οὖν ναυμαχεῖν, διέταττον τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὸν τῶν πολεμίων ἐπίπλουν ἐκαραδόκουν. Λεπτίνης δὲ τριάκοντα ναυσὶ ταῖς ἀρίσταις πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων προάγων, οὐκ ἀνάνδρως μέν, ἀβούλως δὲ διηγωνίσατο. εὐθὺς γὰρ ἐπιθέμενος ταῖς πρώταις τῶν Καρχηδονίων, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐκ ὀλίγας κατέδυσε τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων

So Dindorf: βραδύν.
\* πεζών Palmer ι νεών.

# BOOK XIV. 59, 5-60, 2

he realized that Magon had a short sail, whereas 396 a.c. the route of the land forces was toilsome and long, hastened to Catane with the object of attacking Magon by sea before the arrival of Himilcon. His hope was that his land forces lined up along the coast would embolden his own troops while the enemy would be the more fearful, and, what was the most important consideration, that if he should suffer a reverse of some kind, the ships in distress would be able to take refuge in the camp of the land forces. With this purpose in mind, he dispatched Leptines with his whole fleet under orders to engage with his ships in close order, and not to break his line lest he be endangered by the great numbers of his opponents; for, including merchantmen and oared vessels with brazen beaks, Magon had no less than five hundred ships.

60. When the Carthaginians saw the shore thronged with infantry and the ships of the Greeks bearing down on them, they were at once not a little alarmed and began to make for the land; but later, when they realized the risk they ran of destruction in giving battle at the same time both to the fleet and to the infantry, they quickly changed their mind. Deciding, therefore, to face the battle at sea, they drew up their ships and awaited the approach of the enemy. Leptines advanced with his thirty best vessels far ahead of the rest and joined battle, in no cowardly fashion, but without prudence. Attacking forthwith the leading ships of the Carthaginians, at the outset he sank no small number of the opposing triremes;

4 embineros added by Vogel.

<sup>3</sup> παραχρήμα μέν transposed by Wesseling from after αίγιαλόν.

τριήρων του δε Μάγωνος άθρόαις ταις ναυσί ταις τριάκοντα περιγυθέντος, ταις μέν άρεταις ύπερειχον οί περί τον Λεπτίνην, τοῖς δε πλήθεσιν οί Καρχη-

3 δόνιοι. διὸ καὶ της μάχης ισχυροτέρας γινομένης. καί των κυβερνητών έκ παραβολής τον άγωνα συνισταμένων, όμοιος ο κίνδυνος ταις έπι της γης παρατάξεσιν εγίνετο. οὐ γὰρ ἐκ διαστήματος τοῖς εμβόλοις είς τας των πολεμίων ναθε ενέσειον, αλλά συμπλεκομένων των σκαφών έκ γειρός διηγωνίζοντο. τινές μεν έπι τας των έναντίων ναθς έπιπηδώντες επιπτον είς την θάλατταν, τινές δέ κρατήσαντες της επιβολής έν ταις των πολεμίων 4 ναυσίν ήνωνίζοντο, τέλος δε δ μεν Λεπτίνης

εκβιασθείς ήναγκάσθη φυγείν είς το πέλαγος, αί δε λοιπαί των νεών ατάκτως τον επίπλουν ποιούμεναι ύπο των Καρχηδονιων έχειρούντο και γάρ το περί τον ναύαρχον ελάττωμα τούς Φοίνικας εύθαρσεστέρους εποίησεν, τούς δε Σικελιώτας ούκ

els την τυχούσαν άθυμίαν ήγαγεν.

Της δε μάχης τοιούτον λαβούσης το τέλος, οί Καρχηδόνιοι τους άτάκτως φεύγοντας σφάς φιλοτιμότερον διώξαντες διέφθειραν μέν ναθς πλείους τῶν έκατόν, τὰ δ' ὑπηρετικά παρά τὸν αἰγιαλὸν καταστήσαντες άνήρουν των ναυτών τους διανηγο-

6 μένους πρός το πεζόν στρατόπεδον. πολλών δ' ἀπολλυμένων οὐ μακράν τῆς γῆς, τῶν περί τὸν Διονύσιον οὐδαμιῶς δυναμένων βοηθήσαι, πῶς δ τόπος έγεμε νεκρών καὶ ναυαγίων. ἀπώλοντο μέν οδν έν τη ναυμαχία των μεν Καρχηδονίων ούκ ολίγοι, των δέ Σικελιωτών ναθς μέν πλείω των έκα-7 τόν, ανδρες δ' ύπερ τους δισμυρίους. από δε της

μάχης οἱ μὲν Φοίνικες περί την Κατάνην όρμίσαν-178

but when Magon's massed ships crowded about the see ac. thirty, the forces of Leptines surpassed in valour, but the Carthaginians in numbers. Consequently, as the battle grew fiercer, the steersmen laid their ships broadside in the fighting and the struggle came to resemble conflicts on land. For they did not drive upon the opposing ships from a distance in order to ram them, but the vessels were locked together and the fighting was hand to hand. Some, as they leaped for the enemy's ships, fell into the sea, and others. who succeeded in their attempt, continued the struggle on the opponents' ships. In the end Leptines was driven off and compelled to flee to the open sea, and his remaining ships, attacking without order. were overcome by the Carthaginians; for the defeat suffered by the admiral raised the spirits of the Phoenicians and markedly discouraged the Sicilian Greeks.

After the battle had ended in the manner we have described, the Carthaginians pursued with even greater ardour the enemy who were fleeing in disorder and destroyed more than one hundred of their ships, and stationing their lighter craft along the shore, they slew any of the sailors who were swimming toward the land army. And as they perished in great numbers not far from the land, while the troops of Dionysius were unable to help them in any way, the whole region was full of corpses and wreckage. There perished in the sea battle no small number of Carthaginians, but the loss of the Sicilian Greeks amounted to more than one hundred ships and over twenty thousand men. After the battle the Phoenicians anchored their triremes in the harbour of Catanê.

<sup>1</sup> So Wesseling: wood.

τες τὰς τριήρεις, ἀνήψαντο τὰς αἰχμαλώτους ναθς, καὶ καθελκύσαντες αὐτὰς ἐθεράπευον, ὥστε τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις μὴ μόνου ἀκουστόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεω-

ρητόν ποιήσαι το μέγεθος του προτερήματος.

61. Οἱ δὲ Σικελιῶται τὴν πορείαν μὲν ἐπὶ Συ-ρακουαῶν ἐποιήσαντο, νομίζοντες δὲ πάντως εἰς έργώδη πολιορκίαν συγκλεισθήσεσθαι παρεκάλουν τον Διονύσιον εὐθέως απαντάν τοις περί τον Ίμιλκωνα διά την γεγενημένην νίκην τάχα γάρ τώ παραδόξω της επιφανείας καταπλήξεσθαι τους βαρβάρους και το πρότερον ελάττωμα διορθώσεσθαι. 2 Διονύσιος δε τό μεν πρώτον τοίς παρακαλούσι πειθόμενος ετοιμος ην άγειν την δύναμιν επί τον Ίμιλκωνα ώς δέ τινες των φίλων έλεγον αυτώ, ότι κινδυνεύσει την πόλιν αποβαλείν, έαν Μάγων άναχθή μετά του στόλου παντός έπι Συρακουσων, εὐθέως μετενόησε καὶ γὰρ την Μεσσήνην ήδει τῶ παραπλησίω τρόπω τοῖς βαρβάροις ὑποχείριον γεγενημένην. ώστε οὐκ ἀσφαλές είναι νομίζων ἔρημον ποιήσαι την πόλιν των άμυνομένων, άνέζευξεν 3 έπὶ Συρακουσών. των δέ Σικελιωτών οἱ πλείστοι γαλεπώς φέροντες επί τω μή βούλεσθαι τοις πολεμίοις απαντάν, καταλιπόντες τον Διονύσιον οί μέν είς τὰς ίδίας πατρίδας, οι δ' είς τὰ σύνεγγυς? των φρουρίων απεχώρησαν.

Γμίλκων δὲ δυσὶν ἡμέραις κατανύσας εἰς τὸν τῶν Καταναίων αἰγιαλὸν τὰς μὲν ναθς ἀπάσας ἐνεώλκησε, μεγάλου πνεύματος ἐπιγενομένου, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν ἐφ' ἡμέρας τινὰς ἀναλαμβάνων πρέσ-

\* τά σύνεγγυς Vogel: τάς έγγύς.

<sup>1</sup> nal nabehrioarres] n. drehrioarres Eichstädt, narehrioarres Vogel. 2 de added by Dindorf.

took in tow the ships they had captured, and when me me act they had brought them in, repaired them, so that they made the greatness of their success not only a tale for the cars but also a sight for the eyes of the Cartha-

ginians.1

61. The Sicilian Greeks made their way toward Syracuse, but as they reflected that they would certainly be invested and forced to endure a laborious siege, they urged Dionysius to seek an immediate encounter with Himilcon because of his past victory; for, they said, perhaps their unexpected appearance would strike terror into the barbarians and they could repair their late reverse. Dionysius was at first won over by these advisers and ready to lead his army against Himilcon, but when some of his friends told him that he ran the risk of losing the city if Magon should set out with his entire fleet against Syracuse. he quickly changed his mind; and in fact he knew that Messene had fallen to the hands of the barbarians in a similar manner.2 And so, believing that it was not safe to strip the city of defenders, he set out for Syracuse. The majority of the Sicilian Greeks, being angered at his unwillingness to encounter the enemy, deserted Dionysius, some of them departing to their own countries and others to fortresses in the neighbourhood.

Himilton, who had reached in two days the coast of the Catanacans, hauled all the ships up on land, since a strong wind had arisen, and, while resting his forces for some days, sent ambassadors to the Cam-

i.e. the army of Himilcon.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Cp. chap. 57.

βεις ἀπέστειλε πρός τους την Αίτνην κατέχοντας Καμπανούς, παρακαλών ἀποστήναι τοῦ Διονυσίου.

δ ἐπηγγέλλετο δ' αὐτοῖς χώραν τε δωρήσεσθαι παλλὴν καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ παλέμου λαφύρων κοινωνοὺς ποιήσεσθαι ἐδίδασκε δὲ καὶ τοὺς τὴν "Εντελλαν κατοικοῦντας Καμπανοὺς εὐδοκοῦντας Καρχηδονίοις καὶ συμμαχοῦντας κατὰ τῶν Σικελιωτῶν, καθόλου δὲ τὸ τῶν 'Ελλήνων ἀπεδείκνυε πολέμιον ὑπ-6 άρχον τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν. οἱ δὲ Καμπανοὶ δε-

δ άρχον των άλλων έθνων. οι δέ Καμπανοί δεδωκότες όμήρους τῷ Διονυσίῳ, καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπεσταλκότες εἰς Συρακούσας, ἡναγκάσθησαν διατηρῆσαι τὴν πρὸς Διονύσιον συμμαχίαν, καίπερ ἐπιθυμοῦντες μεταβαλέσθαι πρὸς

Καρχηδονίους.

62. Μετά δε ταῦτα Διονύσιος μεν καταπεπληγμένος τους Καρχηδονίους απέστειλε πρεσβευτήν πρός τε τους κατ' Ίταλίαν "Ελληνας και πρός Λακεδαιμονίους, έτι δέ Κορινθίους, Πολύξενον τον κηδεστήν, δεόμενος βοηθείν καὶ μὴ περιιδείν τὰς εν Σικελία πόλεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄρδην ἀναιρουμένας. Επεμιβε δε και ξενολόγους είς Πελοπόννησον μετά πολλών χρημάτων, έντειλάμενος ώς πλείστους άθροίζειν στρατιώτας μή φειδομένους 2 των μισθών. 'Ιμίλκων δε τοις από των πολεμίων σκύλοις κοσμήσας τας ναθς κατέπλευσεν είς τον μέναν λιμένα των Συρακοσίων, και πολλήν τοις έν τη πόλει κατάπληξιν επέστησεν. διακόσιαι μεν γάρ και πεντήκοντα μακραί ναθς είσεπλεον εν τάξει τάς είρεσίας ποιούμεναι και τοις έκ του πολέμου λαφύροις πολυτελώς κεκοσμημέναι, μετά δὲ ταῦτα αί φορτηγοί ναθς είσθεόμεναι μεν ύπερ τρισχιλίας, φέρουσαι δὲ πλείους τῶν πεντακοσίων, αι δὲ πάσαι 182

panians who held Aetne, urging them to revolt from 200 Ac. Dionysius. He promised both to give them a large amount of territory and to let them share in the spoils of the war; he also informed them that the Campanians dwelling in Entella found no fault with the Carthaginians and took their side against the Sicilian Greeks, and he pointed out that as a general thing the Greeks as a race are the enemies of all other peoples. But since the Campanians had given hostages to Dionysius and had sent their choicest troops to Syracuse, they were compelled to maintain the alliance with Dionysius, although they would gladly

have joined the Carthaginians.

62. After this Dionysius, who was in terror of the Carthaginians, sent his brother-in-law Polyxenus as ambassador both to the Greeks in Italy and to the Lacedaemonians, as well as the Corinthians, begging them to come to his aid and not to suffer the Greek cities of Sicily to be utterly destroyed. He also sent to the Peloponnesus men with ample funds to recruit mercenaries, ordering them to enlist as many soldiers as they could without regard to economy. Himilcon decked his ships with the spoils taken from the enemy and put in at the great harbour of the Syracusans, and he caused great dismay among the inhabitants of the city. For two hundred and fifty ships of war entered the harbour, with oars flashing in order and richly decked with the spoils of war; then came the merchantmen, in excess of three thousand, laden with more than five hundred . . .; and the whole

<sup>1</sup> seel after Eucekiaran deleted by Vogel.

σχεδον δισχίλιαι. Είδ καὶ συνέβαινε τον λιμένα των Συρακοσίων, καίπερ όντα μέγαν, εμπεφράγθαι μέν τοις σκάφεσι, συγκαλύπτεσθαι δέ σχεδόν 3 άπαντα τοῖς ἰστίοις. τούτων δὲ καθορμισθεισῶν εύθύς και το πεζον στρατόπεδον έκ θατέρου μέρους αντιπαρήνε, συνεστηκός, ώς μέν τινες ανέγραψαν, έκ τριάκοντα μυριάδων πεζών, ίππέων δε τρισγιλίων. δ μέν οθν στρατηγός των δυνάμεων Ιμίλκων κατεσκήνωσεν έν τω του Διός νεώ, το δέ λοιπόν πλήθος έν τω παρακειμένω τόπω κατεστρατοπέδευσεν άπέχον της πόλεως σταδίους δώδεκα. 4 μετά δε ταθτα 'Ιμίλκων εξήγαγε την στρατιάν απασαν και πρό των τειχων εξεταξε την δύναμιν, είς μάχην προκαλούμενος τούς Συρακοσίους. έπέπλευσε δε και τοις λιμέσιν έκατον ναυσί ταις αρίσταις, όπως καταπλήξηται τους κατά την πόλιν καὶ συναναγκάση συγχωρεῖν ήττους εἶναι καὶ κατὰ 5 θάλατταν. οὐδενὸς δ' ἐπεξιέναι τολμῶντος τότε μεν απηγε την δύναμιν είς την στρατοπεδείαν, μετά δε ταθτ' εφ' ήμερας τριάκοντα την γώραν επήει δενδροτομών και πάσαν φθείρων, όπως άμα μεν τούς στρατιώτας πληρώση παντυίας ώφελείας, αμα δε τούς εντός των τειχών είς άθυμίαν καταστήση. 63. Κατελάβετο δε και το της 'Αγραδινής προάστειον, καὶ τοὺς νεώς τῆς τε Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἐσύλησεν ὑπέρ ὧν ταχὺ τῆς εἰς τὸ θεῖον άσεβείας άξίαν ύπέσχε τιμωρίαν. ταχύ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα καθ' ἡμέραν έγίνετο χείρω, καὶ τοῦ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> elaθιόμεναι . . . διοχίλιαι] Vogel joins Wesseling in refusing to attempt emendation of this hopeless passage. The numbers may be compared with those in chs. 47. 7; 54. δ; 56. 1; 59. 7.

fleet numbered some two thousand vessels.1 The mana result was that the harbour of the Syracusans, despite its great size, was blocked up by the vessels and it was almost entirely concealed from view by the sails. The ships had just come to anchor when at once from the other side the land army advanced, consisting, as some have reported, of three hundred thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry. The general of the armaments, Himileon, took up his quarters in the temple of Zeus and the rest of the multitude encamped in the neighbourhood twelve stades from the city. After this Himilcon led out the entire army and drew up his troops in battle order before the walls, challenging the Syracusans to battle; and he also sailed up to the harbours with a hundred of his finest ships in order to strike terror into the inhabitants of the city and to force them to concede that they were inferior at sea as well. But when no one ventured to come out against him, for the time being he withdrew his troops to the camp and then for thirty days overran the countryside, cutting down the trees and laying it all waste, in order not only to satisfy the soldiers with every kind of plunder, but also to reduce the besieged to despair.

63. Himilton seized the suburb of Achradine; and he also plundered the temples of both Demeter and Core, for which acts of impiety against the divinity he quickly suffered a fitting penalty. For his fortune quickly worsened from day to day, and whenever

<sup>1</sup> What Diodorus wrote in this sentence can never be

<sup>2</sup> plv after row deleted by Dindorf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> νεών δὲ μακρών διακοσίων after τρισχιλίων deleted by Wesseling. 

So Hertlein: ἐταξε.

Διονυσίου θαρρούντος ακροβολισμούς συνίστασθαι 2 συνέβαινε προτερείν τους Συρακοσίους. εγίνοντο δέ καὶ τὰς νύκτας ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδω παράλονοι ταραχαί και μετά των οπλων συνέτρεχον, ώς των πολεμίων επιθεμένων τω χάρακι. επεγενήθη δε καὶ νόσος, ἡ πάντων αὐτοῖς αἰτία κακῶν κατέστη. περί ής μικρου υστερον έρουμεν, ίνα μη προλαμ-

βάνωμεν τῆ γραφῆ τοὺς καιρούς.

'Ιμίλκων μέν ούν τείχος περιβαλών τῆ παρεμβολή τους τάφους σχεδον πάντας τους σύνεγγυς καθείλεν, έν οις τόν τε Γέλωνος και της γυναικός αὐτοῦ Δημαρέτης, πολυτελώς κατεσκευασμένους. ώκοδόμησε δε και τρία φρούρια παρά θάλατταν, το μεν έπὶ τοῦ Πλημμυρίου, το δ' έπὶ μέσου τοῦ λιμένος, το δέ κατά τον νεών του Διός είς δέ ταύτα τόν τε οίνον καὶ τὸν σίτον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων κατεκόμιζε, νομίζων χρονιωτέραν έσεσθαι 4 την πολιορκίαν. ἀπέστειλε δέ και τὰς όλκάδας ναθς ές τε Σαρδώνα καὶ Λιβύην, όπως σθτον καὶ τάς άλλας τροφάς παρακομίζωσιν. Πολύξενος δέ ό Διονυσίου κηδεστής έκ τε Πελοποννήσου και τής 'Ιταλίας παρεγενήθη ναθς μακράς άγων τριάκοντα παρά των συμμάγων καὶ ναύαργον Φαρακίδαν Λακεδαιμόνιον.

64. Μετά δὲ ταῦτα Διονύσιος μὲν καὶ Λεπτίνης μετά μακρῶν νεῶν ἐξέπλεον¹ ἀγορὰν βουλόμενοι παρακομίσαι, οι δέ Συρακόσιοι καθ' αύτούς τε γενόμενοι καὶ κατά τύχην ιδόντες σιτηγόν πλοίον προσφερόμενου, πέντε ναυσίν ἐπέπλευσαν αὐτῶ. καὶ 2 κατακυριεύσαντες κατήγον είς την πόλιν. των δέ

Καρχηδονίων έπ' αὐτούς ἀναχθέντων τετταράκοντα

Dionysius made bold to skirmish with him, the Syra- 306 a.c. cusans had the better of it. Also at night unaccountable tumults would arise in the camp and the soldiers would rush to arms, thinking that the enemy was attacking the palisade. To this was added a plague which was the cause of every kind of suffering. But of this we shall speak a little later, in order that our

account may not anticipate the proper time.

Now when he threw a wall about the camp, Himilton destroyed practically all the tombs in the area, among which was that of Gelon and his wife Demarete, of costly construction. He also built three forts along the sen, one at Plenimyrium, one at the middle of the harbour, and one by the temple of Zeus, and into them he brought wine and grain and all other provisions, believing that the stege would continue a long time. He also dispatched merchant ships to Sardinia and Libya to secure grain and every kind of food. Polyxenus, the brother-in-law of Dionysius, arrived from the Peloponnesus and Italy, bringing thirty warships from his allies, with Pharacidas the Lacedaemonian as admiral.

64. After this Dionysius and Leptines had set out with warships to escort a supply of provisions; and the Syracusans, who were thus left to themselves, seeing by chance a vessel approaching laden with food, sailed out against it with five ships, seized it, and brought it to the city. The Carthaginians put out against them with forty ships, whereupon the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 11. 38. 4 f.

The headland which formed the south side of the entrance

to the Great Harbour (Thucydides, 7. 4).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Beloch (Rhein. Mus. 34, 124) thinks that Pharacidas is the Pharax of Xenophon, Hell. 3, 2, 12, who was Spartan admiral in S97 s.c.

ναυσίν, οἱ Συρακόσιοι πάσας ἐπλήρωσαν τὰς ναῦς, καὶ ναυμαχήσαντες τῆς τε στρατηγίδος νεὼς ἐκυρίευσαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἴκοσι καὶ τέτταρας διέφθειραν καταδιώξαντες δὲ τὰς φευγούσας μέχρι τοῦ ναυστάθμου τῶν πολεμίων, προεκαλοῦντο τοὺς Καρχηδονίους εἰς ναυμαχίαν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν διὰ τὸ παράδοξον τεταραγμένοι ἡσυχίαν ἔσχον, οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι τὰς αἰχμαλώτους ναῦς ἀναψάμενοι κατήγαγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν. μετεωρισθέντες δὲ τῷ προτερήματι, καὶ διαλογιζόμενοι τὸν μὲν Διονύσιον πλεονάκις ἡττημένον, αὐτοὺς δὲ χωρὶς ἐκείνου νενκηκότας Καρχηδονίους, φρονήματος ἐπληροῦντο.

 ἀθροιζόμενοι δὲ διελάλουν, ὅτι περιορῶσιν αὐτοὺς δουλεύοντας Διονυσίω, καὶ ταῦτα καιρὸν ἔχοντες τῆς καταλύσεως αὐτοῦ· τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ἦσαν ἀφωπλισμένοι, τότε δὲ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον

δ τῶν ὅπλων ἦσαν κύριοι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοιούτων λόγων γινομένων Διονύσιος κατέπλευσε, καὶ συναγαγὰν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπήνει τοὺς Συρακοσίους καὶ παρεκάλει θαρρεῖν, ἐπαγγελλόμενος ταχέως καταλύσειν τὸν πόλεμον. ἤδη δ' αὐτοῦ μέλλοντος διαλύειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀναστὰς Θεόδωρος ὁ Συρακόσιος, ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν εὐδοκιμῶν καὶ δοκῶν εἶναι πρακτικός, ἀπετόλμησε περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τοιούτοις χρήσασθαι λόγοις.

65. Εὶ καί τινα προσέψευσται Διονύσιος, τό γε ρηθεν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ τελευταῖον ἀληθες ἢν, ὅτι ταχέως καταλύσει τὸν πόλεμον. τοῦτο δε πρᾶξαι δύναιτ' ἄν οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀφηγούμενος, ἢττηται γὰρ

<sup>1</sup> Dindorf and Vogel add The after Terapayuthor.

Syracusans manned all their ships and in the ensuing and an battle both captured the flag-ship and destroyed twenty-four of the remainder; and then, pursuing the fleeing ships as far as the enemy's anchorage, they challenged the Carthaginians to battle. When the latter, confused at the unexpected turn of events. made no move, the Syracusans took the captured ships in tow and brought them to the city. Elated at their success and thinking how often Dionysius had met defeat, whereas they, without his presence, had won a victory over the Carthaginians, they were now puffed up with pride. And as they gathered in groups they talked together about how they took no steps to end their slavery to Dionysius, even though they had an opportunity to depose him; for up until then they had been without arms,1 but now because of the war they had weapons at their command. Even while discussions of this kind were taking place, Dionysius sailed into the harbour and, calling an assembly, praised the Syracusans and urged them to be of good courage, promising that he would speedily put an end to the war. And he was on the point of dismissing the assembly when Theodorus, a Syracusan, who was held in high esteem among the cavalry and was considered a man of action, made bold to speak as follows in regard to their liberty.

65. "Although Dionysius has introduced some falsehoods, the last statement he made was true: that he would speedily put an end to the war. He could accomplish this if he were no longer our commander—for he has often been defeated—but had

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. chap. 10. 4.

<sup>\*</sup> So Wesseling : dvapápavor.

πολλάκις, άλλά την πάτριον έλευθερίαν αποδούς 2 τοις πολίταις. νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν προθύμως ύπομένει τούς κινδύνους, όταν ή νίκη μηδέν ήττον ή της ήττης λειφθέντας γάρ Καρχηδονίοις δεήσει ποιείν το προσταττόμενον, νικήσαντας δε Διονύσιον έχειν βαρύτερον έκείνων δεσπότην. Καρχηδόνιοι μέν γάρ, κᾶν πολέμω κρατήσωσι, φόρον ώρισμένον λαβόντες οὐκ αν ήμας εκώλυσαν τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις διοικείν την πόλιν ούτος δέ τὰ μέν ίερα συλήσας, τούς δέ των ίδιωτων πλούτους αμα ταίς των κεκτημένων ψυχαις άφελόμενος, τους οικέτας μισθοδοτεί κατά της των δεσποτών δουλείας καί τά συμβαίνοντα κατά τάς των πόλεων άλώσεις δεινά, ταῦτ' ἐν εἰρήνη πράττων καταλύσειν ἐπαγ-3 γέλλεται τον προς Καρχηδονίους πόλεμον, ήμιν δ', ω ανδρες, ούν ήπτον του Φοινικικού πολέμου καταλυτέον έστι τον έντος του τείχους τύραννον. ή μεν γαρ ακρόπολις δούλων οπλοις τηρουμένη κατά της πόλεως επιτετείχισται, το δε τών μισθοδόρων πλήθος έπι δουλεία των Συρακοσίων ήθροισται καὶ κρατεί της πόλεως οὐκ ἐπ' ίσης βραβεύων το δίκαιον, άλλα μόναρχος πλεονεξία κρίνων πράττειν πάντα. και νύν μέν οι πολέμιοι βραχύ μέρος έχουσι τής χώρας, Διονύσιος δέ πάσαν ποιήσας ανάστατον τοις την τυραννίδα συναύζουσιν έδωρήgaro.

Μέχρι τίνος οὖν καρτερήσομεν ταῦτα πάσχοντες ὑπὲρ ὧν οἱ ἀγαθοὶ χάριν τοῦ μὴ λαβεῖν πεῖραν ἀποθνήσκειν ὑπομένουσιν; καὶ πρὸς μὲν Καρχηδονίους ἀγωνιζόμενοι τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους εὐψύχως ὑπομένομεν, πρὸς δὲ πικρὸν τύραννον ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας καὶ περὶ πατρίδος οὐδὲ λόγω παρρησίαν

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returned to the citizens the freedom their fathers soone. enjoyed. As things are, no one of us faces battle with good courage so long as victory differs not a whit from defeat; for if conquered, we shall have to obey the commands of the Carthaginians, and if conquerors, to have in Dionysius a harsher master than they would be. For even should the Carthaginians defeat us in war, they would only impose a fixed tribute and would not prevent us from governing the city in accordance with our ancient laws; but this man has plundered our temples, has taken the property of private citizens together with the lives of their owners. and pays a wage to servants to secure the enslavement of their masters. Such horrors as attend the storming of cities are perpetrated by him in time of peace, yet he promises to put an end to the war with the Carthaginians. But it behooves us, fellow citizens, to put an end not only to the Phoenician war but to the tyrant within our walls. For the acropolis, which is guarded by the weapons of slaves, is a hostile redoubt in our city; the multitude of mercenaries has been gathered to hold the Syracusans in slavery; and he lords it over the city, not like a magistrate dispensing justice on equal terms, but like a dictator who by policy makes all decisions for his own advantage. For the time being the enemy possess a small portion of our territory, but Dionysius has devastated it all and given it to those who join in increasing his tyranny.

"How long, then, are we to be patient though we suffer such abuses as brave men endure to die rather than experience them? In battle against the Carthaginians we bravely face the final sacrifice, but against a harsh tyrant, in behalf of freedom and our father-

έτι ἄγειν' τολμωμεν καὶ ταῖς μὲν τοσαύταις μυριάσι των πολεμίων ἀντιταττόμεθα, μόναρχον δὲ οὐδ' ἀνδραπόδου γενναίου τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχοντα πεφρί-

KOLLEV. 66. Οὐ γὰρ δήπουθεν ἀξιώσαι τις αν παραβάλλειν Διονύσιον τώ παλαιώ Γέλωνι. έκείνος μέν γάρ μετά της ίδίας άρετης, μετά των Συρακοσίων και των άλλων Σικελιωτών ηλευθέρωσε την Σικελίαν απασαν, ο δ' εν ελευθερία παραλαβών τας πόλεις των μέν άλλων άπασων κυρίους πεποίηκε τούς πολεμίους, αὐτός δὲ τὴν πατρίδα καταδεδού-2 λωται. κάκεινος μέν πολύ πρό της Σικελίας άγωνισάμενος τούς εν ταις πόλεσιν όντας συμμάχους οὐδε ίδειν τους πολεμίους εποίησεν, ο δ' από Μοτύης διά πάσης της νήσου φυγών συγκέκλεικεν έαυτον έντος των τειχών, πρός μέν τους πολίτας θρασυνόμενος, τους δέ πολεμίους ουδέ κατ' όψιν 3 ίδειν ύπομένων. τοιγαρούν έκεινος μέν διά τε την άρετην και το μέγεθος των πράξεων ου μόνον των Συρακοσίων, άλλά και των Σικελιωτών έκουσίων παρέλαβε την ηγεμονίαν, δ δ' ἐπ' ολέθρω μεν τῶν συμμάχων, επί δουλεία δε τών πολιτών στρατηγήσας, πως ούκ αν δικαίως ύπο πάντων μισοίτο; ού γαρ μόνον ήγεμονίας ανάξιος, αλλά και μυρίων 4 θανάτων τυχείν δίκαιος. Γέλα και Καμάρινα διά τούτον κατεστράφησαν, Μεσσήνη άρδην ανήρηται, κατά ναυμαχίαν δισμύριοι των συμμάχων άπολώλασι, το σύνολον είς μίαν κατακεκλείσμεθα πόλιν, των κατά Σικελίαν Ελληνίδων πασών άνηρημένων.

<sup>1</sup> fre dyeer Dindorf : endyeer.

## BOOK XIV. 65, 4-66, 4

land, even in speech we no longer dare to raise our me n.c. voices; we face in battle so many myriads of the enemy, but we stand in shivering fear of a single ruler, who has not the manliness of a superior slave.

86. "Surely no one would think of comparing Dionysius with Gelon 1 of old. For Gelon, by reason of his own high character, together with the Syracusans and the rest of the Sicilian Greeks, set free the whole of Sicily, whereas this man, who found the cities free, has delivered all the rest of them over to the lordship of the enemy and has himself enslaved his native state. Gelon fought so far forward in behalf of Sicily that he never let his allies in the cities even catch sight of the enemy, whereas this man, after fleeing from Motyê through the entire length of the island, has cooped himself up within our walls. full of confidence against his fellow citizens, but unable to bear even the sight of the enemy. As a consequence Gelon, by reason both of his high character and of his great deeds, received the leadership by the free will not only of the Syracusans but also of the Sicilian Greeks, while, as for this man whose generalship has led to the destruction of his allies and the enslavement of his fellow citizens, how can he escape the just hatred of all? For not only is he unworthy of leadership but, if justice were done, would die ten thousand deaths. Because of him Gela and Camarina were subdued, Messene lies in total ruin, twenty thousand allies are perished in a seabattle, and, in a word, we have been enclosed in one city and all the other Greek cities throughout Sicily

See Book 11, 21-26.

<sup>3</sup> So Wurm: συμμαχίαν. W

<sup>3</sup> σύνολον Dindorf: οὖν δλον.

προς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀδικήμασι' Νάξον καὶ Κατάνην ἐξηνδραποδίσατο, πόλεις συμμαχίδας, ἐπιτάνην ἐξηνδραποδίσατο, πόλεις συμμαχίδας, ἐπιταίρους πόλεις, ἄρδην ἀνήρηκεν. καὶ πρὸς μὲν Καρχηδονίους δύο μάχας ἐνστησάμενος ἐν ἐκατέραις ἤττηται, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς πολίταις πιστευθεὶς ἄπαξ στρατηγίας εὐθέως ἀφείλετο τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, φονεύων μὲν τοὺς παρρησίαν ἄγοντας ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων, φυγαδεύων δὲ τοὺς ταῖς οὐσίαις προέχοντας, καὶ τὰς μὲν τῶν φυγάδων γυναῖκας οἰκέταις καὶ μιγάσιν ἀνθρώποις συνοικίζων, τῶν δὲ πολιτικῶν ὅπλων βαρβάρους καὶ ξένους ποιῶν κυρίους. καὶ ταῦτ' ἔπραξεν, ὧ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοὶ πάντες, ὑπηρέτης ἀρχείων, ἀπεγνωσμένος ἄνθρωπος.

67. Καὶ ποῦ το φιλελεύθερον τῶν Συρακοσίων; ποῦ δ' αἱ τῶν προγόνων πράξεις; ἐῶ τὰς² ἐφ' Ἰμέρα τριάκοντα μυριάδας ἄρδην ἀναιρεθείσας Καρχηδονίων, παρίημι τὴν τῶν μετὰ Γέλωνα' τυράννων κατάλυσιν ἀλλ' ἐχθὲς καὶ πρώην, 'Αθηναίων τηλικαύταις δυνάμεσιν ἐπὶ Συρακούσας στρατευσάντων, οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν οὐδὲ τὸν ἀπαγγελοῦντα τὴν συμφορὰν ἀπέλιπον. ἡμεῖς δὲ τηλικαῦτ' ἔχοντες πατέρων παραδείγματ' ἀρετῆς, τοῦ Διονυσίου προστάγμασιν ὑπακούομεν, καὶ ταῦτα τῶν ὅπλων ὅντες κύριοι; θεῶν γάρ τις πρόνοια μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἡμᾶς συνήγαγε πρός τὸ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀνακτήσασθαι, καὶ πάρεστι τήμερον ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γενομένους καὶ συμφρονήσαντας 3 ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς βαρείας ἀνάγκης. τὸν μὲν γὰρ

¹ So Wurm : ἀτυχήμασι. ² dω τὰς Wesseling, ὧ ταῦτ' PAL, ὧν ταῦτ' cet. ² μετὰ Γέλωνα Wesseling, καταγέλων P, κατὰ Γέλωνα cet.

have been destroyed. For in addition to his other \*\*\* a c malefactions he sold into slavery Naxos and Catanê; he has completely destroyed cities that were allies, cities whose existence was opportune. With the Carthaginians he has fought two battles and has come out vanquished in each. Yet when he was entrusted with a generalship by the citizens but one time, he specdily robbed them of their freedom, slaying those who spoke openly on behalf of the laws and exiling the more wealthy; he gave the wives of the banished in marriage to slaves and to a motley throng; he put the weapons of citizens in the hands of barbarians and foreigners. And these deeds, O Zeus and all the gods, were the work of a public clerk, of a desperate man.

67. "Where, then, is the Syracusans' love of freedom? Where the deeds of our ancestors? I say nothing of the three hundred thousand Carthaginians who were totally destroyed at Himera 1; I pass by the overthrow of the tyrants who followed Gelon.2 But only yesterday, as it were, when the Athenians attacked Syracuse with such great armaments, our fathers left not a man free to carry back word of the disaster. And shall we, who have such great examples of our fathers' valour, take orders from Dionysius, especially when we have weapons in our hands? Surely some divine providence has gathered us here, with allies about us and weapons in our hands, for the purpose of recovering our freedom, and it is within our power this day to play the part of brave men and rid ourselves with one accord of our heavy

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 11, 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cp. Book 11. 67-68.

<sup>4</sup> el after άλλ' omitted by A, Vogel.

έμπροσθεν χρόνον παρωπλισμένοι καὶ έρημοι συμμάχων όντες, τῷ δὲ τῶν μισθοφόρων πλήθει τηρούμενοι, σχεδόν είκομεν τώ της ανάγκης καιρώ. νῦν δὲ τῶν ὅπλων κυριεύοντες καὶ τοὺς συμμάγους αμα βοηθούς καὶ θεατάς έχοντες της άρετης, μή παραχωρήσωμεν άλλα ποιήσωμεν φανερόν, ώς διά καιρόν, οὐ δι' ἀνανδρίαν ὑπεμείναμεν δουλεύειν.

4 ούκ αισγυνόμεθα των πολέμων έχοντες ήγεμόνα τον τα κατά την πόλιν ίερα σεσυληκότα, και τηλικούτων πραγμάτων ποιούντες προστάτην, & βίον ίδιωτικόν ούδεις αν εύ φρονών διοικείν έπιτρέψειεν; καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις μάλιστα τηρούντων τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὅσια διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν κινδύνων, ήμεις του έπ' άσεβεία διωνομασμένου έλπίζομεν καταλύσειν τον πόλεμον:

68. Καίτοι γε εί τις βούλεται τάκριβες ζητείν. εύρήσει Διονύσιον ούχ ήττον τοῦ πολέμου την εἰρήνην εὐλαβούμενον. νῦν μὲν γάρ διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ των πολεμίων φόβον νομίζει τούς Συρακοσίους μηθέν έπιχειρήσειν κατ' αύτοῦ πράξαι, καταπονηθέντων δέ των Καρχηδονίων αντιλήψεσθαι της ελευθερίας, των μεν οπλων κυριεύοντας, διά δέ 2 τὰς πράξεις πεφρονηματισμένους. διὰ τοῦτο γάρ, οίμαι, κατά μέν τον πρώτον πόλεμον προδούς Γέλαν και Καμάριναν ταύτας αοικήτους εποίησεν, έν δὲ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἐκδότους τὰς πλείστας Έλ-8 ληνίδας πόλεις συνέθετο. μετά δε ταθτ' εν είρηνη

<sup>1</sup> ral tonuor suggested by Vogel. \* So Wesseling : nanpovincion. \* 760 added by Eichstädt.

voke. For hitherto, while we were disarmed and man, without allies and guarded by a multitude of mercenaries, we have, I dare say, yielded to the pressure of circumstances; but now, since we have arms in our hands and allies to give us aid as well as bear witness of our bravery, let us not yield but make it clear that it was circumstances, not cowardice, that made us submit to slavery. Are we not ashamed that we should have as commander in our wars the man who has plundered the temples of our city and that we choose as representative in such important matters a person to whom no man of good sense would entrust the management of his private affairs? And though all other peoples in times of war, because of the great perils they face, observe with the greatest care their obligations to the gods, do we expect that a man of such notorious impiety will put an end to the war ?

68. "In fact, if a man cares to put a finer point on it, he will find that Dionysius is as wary of peace as he is of war. For he believes that, as matters stand, the Syracusans, because of their fear of the enemy, will not attempt anything against him, but that once the Carthaginians have been defeated they will claim their freedom, since they will have weapons in their hands and will be proudly conscious of their deeds. Indeed this is the reason, in my opinion, why in the first war he betrayed Gela and Camarina and made these cities desolate, and why in his negotiations he agreed that most of the Greek cities should be given over to the enemy. After this he broke faith in time

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 13, 111.

dounfrous after whelevas deleted by Reiske.

Νάξον καὶ Κατάνην παρασπονδῶν ἐξανδραποδισάμενος ἢν μὲν κατέσκαψεν, ἢν δὲ τοῖς ἐξ Ἰταλίας Καμπανοῖς οἰκητήριον ἔδωκεν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκείνων ἀπολομένων οἰ περιλειφθέντες πολλάκις ἐπεβάλοντο καταλῦσαι τὴν τυραννίδα, πάλιν τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις πόλεμον κατήγγειλεν οὐ γὰρ οὕτως εὐλαβεῖτο λῦσαι τὰς συνθήκας παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους, ὡς ἐφοβεῖτο τὰ περιλελειμμένα συστήματα τῶν Σικελιωτῶν.

Καί δή φαίνεται διὰ παντός ἐπηγρυπνηκὼς τῆς τούτων ἀπωλεία, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν περὶ Η ἀνορμον δυνάμενος παρατάξασθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀποβαινόντων ἐκ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τὰ σώματα κακῶς ἐχόντων διὰ τὸν σάλον, οὐκ ἡβουλήθη· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν Μεσσήνην ἐπίκαιρον καὶ τηλικαύτην πόλιν ἀβοήθητον περιιδὼν εἴασε κατασκαφῆναι, ὅπως μὴ μόνον ὡς πλεῖστοι διαφθείρωνται τῶν Σικελιωτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι τὰς ἐξ Ἱταλίας βοηθείας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου στόλους ἐμφρά-

6 ξωσιν. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ἐν τῷ Καταναίων αἰγιαλῷ διηγωνίσατο, παρεὶς πρὸς τῆ πόλει τὴν μάχην συστήσασθαι πρὸς τὸ τοὺς ἐλαττουμένους καταφεύγειν εἰς τοὺς οἰκείους λιμένας. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίαν, μεγάλων πνευμάτων ἐπιγενομένων καὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀναγκασθέντων νεωλκῆσαι τὸν το στόλον, καιρὸν εἰχε τοῦ νικᾶν κάλλιστον τὸ μὰν γὰρ πεζὸν στράτευμα τῶν πολεμίων οὕπω κατηντηκὸς ἦν, τὸ δὲ μέγεθος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν αὐτοῖς τὰς ναῦς ἐξέβραττεν. τότε συν-

επιθεμένων ήμων πεζή πάντων ήναγκάσθησαν αν

of peace with Naxos and Catanê and sold the in-meach habitants into slavery, razing one to the ground and giving the other to the Campanians from Italy to dwell in. And when, after the destruction of these peoples, the rest of Sicily made many attempts to overthrow his tyranny, he again declared war upon the Carthaginians; for his scruple against breaking his agreement in violation of the oaths he had taken was not so great as his fear of the surviving concentrations of the Sicilian Greeks.

" Moreover, it is obvious that he has been at all times on the alert to effect their destruction. of all at Panormus, when the enemy were disembarking and were in bad physical condition after the stormy passage, he could have offered battle, but did not choose to do so. After that he stood idly by and sent no help to Messenê, a city strategically situated and of great size, but allowed it to be razed, not only in order that the greatest possible number of Sicilian Greeks should perish, but also that the Carthaginians might intercept the reinforcements from Italy and the fleets from the Peloponnesus. Last of all, he joined battle offshore at Catane, careless of the advantage of pitching battle near the city, where the vanquished could find safety in their own harbours. After the battle, when strong winds sprang up and the Carthaginians were forced to haul their fleet up on land, he had a most favourable opportunity for victory; for the land forces of the enemy had not yet arrived and the violent storm was driving

the enemy's ships on the shore. At that time, if we had all attacked on land, the only outcomes left the

enemy would have been, either to be captured with

1 So Reiske: παραλελεμμένα.

3 år added by Reiske.

αποβαίνοντες αλίσκεσθαι ραδίως ή πρός τα κύματα βιαζόμενοι του αιγιαλου πληρώσαι ναυαγίων.

69. 'Αλλά το μέν Διονυσίου κατηγορείν έν Συρακοσίοις επί πλείον ούκ άναγκαίον είναι νομίζω. εί γαρ οί δι' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἀνήκεστα παθύντες ούκ έγείρονται τοις θυμοίς, ήπου τοις λόγοις προαγθήσονται πρός την κατά τούτου τιμωρίαν, καί ταῦτ' ιδόντες αὐτὸν πολίτην μεν γεγονότα πονηρότατον, τύραννον δέ πικρότατον, στρατηγόν δέ 2 πάντων άγενέστατον; όσάκις μεν γάρ σύν τούτω παρεταξάμεθα, τοσαυτάκις ήττήθημεν νυνί δε καθ' αύτους ολίγαις ναυσί την πάσαν των πολεμίων δύναμιν κατεναυμαχήσαμεν. διόπερ έτερον ήγεμόνα ζητητέου, όπως μή τὸν σεσυληκότα τοὺς τῶν θεών ναούς στρατηγόν έχοντες εν τω πολέμω θεο-3 μαγώμεν. φανερώς γάρ το δαιμόνιον αντιπράττει τοις του ασεβέστατου προχειρισαμένοις επί την ήγεμονίαν. το γάρ μετά μέν τούτου πάσας τάς δυνάμεις ήττησθαι, χωρίς δε τούτου και βραχύ μέρος ίκανον είναι καταπολεμήσαι Καρχηδονίους, πως ου πασιν όρατην έχει την των θεων επιφά- νειαν; διόπερ, ω άνδρες, εαν μεν έκων αποτίθηται την άρχην, εάσωμεν αὐτὸν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι μετά των ιδίων έκ της πόλεως έαν δε μή βούληται, καιρόν έγομεν κάλλιστον τον παρόντα προς το της έλευθερίας άντιλαμβάνεσθαι. πάντες συνεληλύθαμεν, κύριοι των δπλων έσμέν, συμμάχους έχομεν παρόντας οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας Ελ-5 ληνας, άλλά και τους άπο Πελοποννήσου. την δέ 200

ease, if they left their ships, or to strew the coast with \*\*\* we wreckage, if they matched their strength against the waves.

69. "But to lodge accusations against Dionysius at greater length among Syracusans is, I should judge. not necessary. For if men who have suffered in very deed such irretrievable ruin are not roused to rage. will they, forsouth, be moved by words to wreak vengeance upon him-men too who have seen his behaviour as the worst of citizens, the harshest of tyrants, the most ignoble of all generals? For as often as we have stood in line of battle under his command, so often have we been defeated, whereas but just now, when we fought independently, we defcated with a few ships the enemy's entire force. We should, therefore, seek out another leader, to avoid fighting under a general who has pillaged the shrines of the gods and so finding ourselves engaged in a war against the gods; for it is manifest that heaven opposes those who have selected the worst enemy of religion to be their commander. Noting that when he is present our armies in full force suffer defeat, whereas, when he is absent, even a small detachment is sufficient to defeat the Carthaginians. should not all men see in this the visible presence of the gods? Therefore, fellow citizens, if he is willing to lay down his office of his own accord, let us allow him to leave the city with his possessions; but if he does not choose to do so, we have at the present moment the fairest opportunity to assert our freedom. We are all gathered together; we have weapons in our hands; we have allies about us, not only the Greeks from Italy but also those from the Peloponnesus. The chief command must be

ηγεμονίαν δοτέον κατά τους νύμους πολίταις ή τοις κατά την μητρόπολιν οἰκοῦσι Κορινθίοις ή τοις

άφηγουμένοις της Έλλάδος Σπαρτιάταις.

70. Τοιούτοις του Θεοδώρου χρησαμένου λόγοις, οί μέν Συρακόσιοι μετέωροι ταις ψυχαίς εγένοντο καί πρός τους συμμάχους ἀπέβλεπον, Φαρακίδου δέ του Λακεδαιμονίου ναυαρχούντος των συμμάχων παρελθόντος επί το βήμα, πάντες προσεδόκων 2 άρχηγον έσεσθαι της έλευθερίας. ό δε τὰ πρός τον τύραννον έχων οἰκείως έφησεν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπεστάλθαι Συρακοσίοις και Διονυσίω συμμαχείν πρός Καρχηδονίους, άλλ' ου Διονυσίου την άρχην καταλύειν. παρά δὲ την προσδοκίαν γενομένης της αποφάσεως, οί μεν μισθοφόροι συνέδραμον πρός τον Διονύσιον, οί δὲ Συρακόσιοι καταπλαγέντες την ήσυχίαν είχον, πολλά τρίς 3 Σπαρτιάταις καταρώμενοι και γάρ το πρότερον 'Αρέτης ο Λακεδαιμόνιος άντιλαμβανόμενος' αὐτῶν της έλευθερίας εγένετο προδότης, και τότε Φαρακίδας ενέστη ταις όρμαις των Συρακοσίων. ὁ δὲ Διονύσιος τότε μεν εγένετο περίφοβος και διέλυσε την έκκλησίαν, μετά δε ταῦτα φιλανθρώποις λόγοις γρησάμενος καθωμίλει τω πλήθει, καὶ τινὰς μέν δωρεαις έτίμα, τινάς δ' έπι τὰ συσσίτια παρελάμ-Bare.

Καρχηδονίοις δε μετά την κατάληψιν του προαστείου και την σύλησιν του τε της Δήμητρος και Κόρης ιερού ενέπεσεν εις το στράτευμα νόσος συνεπελάβετο δε και τη του δαιμονίου συμφορή το

<sup>1</sup> gai after συμμάχων deleted by Hertlein.

given, according to the laws, either to citizens, or to see me. the Corinthians who dwell in our mother-city, or to the Spartans who are the first power in Greece."

70. After this speech by Theodorus the Syracusans were in high spirits and kept their eyes fixed on their allies; and when Pharacidas the Lacedaemonian, the admiral of the allies, stepped up to the platform, all expected that he would take the lead for liberty. But he was on friendly terms with the tyrant and declared that the Lacedacmonians had dispatched him to aid the Syracusans and Dionysius against the Carthaginians, not to overthrow the rule of Dionysius. At this statement so contrary to expectation the mercenaries flocked about Dionysius, and the Syracusans in dismay made no move, although they called down many curses on the Spartans. For on a previous occasion Aretes 1 the Lacedaemonian, at the time that he was asserting the right of the Syracusans to freedom, had betrayed them, and now at this time Pharacidas vetoed the movement of the Syracusans. For the moment Dionysius was in great fear and dissolved the assembly, but later he won the favour of the multitude by kindly words, honouring some of them with gifts and inviting some to general banquets.

After the Carthaginians had seized the suburb and pillaged the temple of Demeter and Corê, a plague struck the army. Over and above the disaster sent by influence of the deity, there were contributing

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. chap. 10 above, where he is called Aristus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> ἀντιλαμβανόμενος} ἀντιλαμβανομένων Reiske, Vogel.
<sup>6</sup> τῷ πλήθει] τὰ πλήθη Reiske, Vogel.
<sup>6</sup> So Wesseling: κατάλυσω.
<sup>6</sup> τὸ added by Eichstädt.

μυριάδας els ταὐτὸ συναθροισθήναι καὶ τὸ τῆς ώρας είναι πρός τὰς νόσους ένεργότατον, έτι δὲ τὸ ἔχειν δ έκεινο το θέρος καύματα παρηλλαγμένα. Εοικε δέ και ο τόπος αίτιος γεγονέναι προς την υπερβολην τής συμφοράς και γάρ 'Αθηναίοι πρότερον τήν αυτήν έχοντες παρεμβολήν πολλοί διεφθάρησαν υπό της νόσου, ελώδους όντος τοῦ τόπου και κοίλου. 6 πρώτον μεν πρίν ήλιον ανατείλαι δια την ψυχρότητα την έκ της αύρας των ύδάτων φρίκη κατείγε τά σώματα κατά δε την μεσημβρίαν ή θερμότης επνιγεν, ώς αν τοσούτου πλήθους εν στενώ τόπω

συνηθροισμένου.

71. "Ηψατο μέν ουν ή νόσος πρώτον τών Λιβύων, έξ ων πολλων αποθνησκόντων το μεν πρώτον έθαπτον τους τετελευτηκότας, μετά δε ταθτα διά τε τὸ πλήθος τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ διὰ τὸ τοὺς νοσοκομοῦντας ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου διαρπάζεσθαι, οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα προσιέναι τοις κάμνουσιν. παραιρεθείσης οδν καί 2 της θεραπείας άβοήθητος ην ή συμφορά. διὰ γὰρ την των άθάπτων δυσωδίαν και την άπο των έλων σηπεδάνα πρώτον μεν ήρχετο της νόσου κατάρρους, μετά δε ταῦτ' εγίνετο περί του τράχηλον οίδηματα. έκ δέ τοῦ κατ' ολίγον ἡκολούθουν πυρετοί καὶ περί την ράχιν νεύρων πόνοι και των σκελών βαρύτητες είτ' επεγίνοντο δυσεντερία καὶ φλύκταιναι 3 περί την επιφάνειαν όλην τοῦ σώματος. τοῖς μέν οθν πλείστοις τοιούτον ήν το πάθος, τινές δ' είς μανίαν και λήθην των απάντων ξπιπτον, οι περιπορευόμενοι την παρεμβολήν έξεστώτες του φρονείν έτυπτον τους απαντώντας. καθόλου δε συνέβη και την από των ιατρών βοήθειαν απρακτον είναι

<sup>1 4]</sup> omltted P. Vogel. So Eichstädt : τούτου.

## BOOK XIV. 70. 4-71. 3

causes: that myriads of people were gathered to-see ac gether, that it was the time of the year which is most productive of plagues, and that the particular summer had brought unusually hot weather. It also seems likely that the place itself was responsible for the excessive extent of the disaster; for on a former occasion the Athenians too, who occupied the same camp, had perished in great numbers from the plague, since the terrain was marshy and in a hollow. First, before sunrise, because of the cold from the breeze over the waters, their bodies were struck with chills, but in the middle of the day the heat was stifling, as must be the case when so great a multitude is gathered together in a narrow place.

71. Now the plague first attacked the Libyans, and, as many of them perished, at first they buried the dead, but later, both because of the multitude of corpses and because those who tended the sick were seized by the plague, no one dared approach the suffering.1 When even nursing was thus omitted, there was no remedy for the disaster. For by reason of the stench of the unburied and the missma from the marshes, the plague began with a catarrh: then came a swelling in the throat; gradually burning sensations ensued, pains in the sinews of the back, and a heavy feeling in the limbs; then dysentery supervened and pustules upon the whole surface of the body. In most cases this was the course of the disease; but some became mad and totally lost their memory; they circulated through the camp, out of their mind, and struck at anyone they met. general, as it turned out, even help by physicians was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cp. Book 13. 19. <sup>8</sup> Perhaps the text added: "or the dead."

καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πάθους καὶ τὴν ὀξύτητα τοῦ θανάτου· πεμπταῖοι γὰρ ἢ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐκταῖοι μετήλλαττον, δεινὰς ὑπομένοντες τιμωρίας, ὤσθ' ὑπὸ πάντων μακαρίζεσθαι τοὺς ἐν τῷ πολέμω ττελευτηκότας. καὶ γὰρ οἱ τοῖς κάμνουσι παρεδρεύοντες ἐνέπιπτον εἰς τὴν νόσον ἄπαντες, ὤστε δεινὴν εἶναι τὴν συμφορὰν τῶν ἀρρωστούντων, μηδενὸς θέλοντος ὑπηρετεῖν τοῖς ἀτυχοῦσιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον οἱ μηδὲν προσήκοντες ἀλλήλους ἐγκατέλειπον, ἀλλ' ἀδελφοὶ μὲν ἀδελφούς, φίλοι δὲ τοὺς συνήθεις ἡναγκάζοντο προῖεσθαι διὰ τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν φόβον.

72. Διονύσιος δ' ἐπειδὴ τὴν περὶ Καρχηδονίους συμφορὰν ἡκουσεν, ὀγδοήκοντα μὲν ναῦς πληρώσας Φαρακίδα καὶ Λεπτίνη τοῖς ναυάρχοις ἐπέταξεν ἄμ' ἡμέρα τὸν ἐπίπλουν ταῖς πολεμίαις ναυσὶ ποιήσασθαι, αὐτὸς δ' ἀσελήνου τῆς νυκτὸς οὐσης περιήγαγε τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ περιελθών ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς Κυάνης ἰερὸν ἔλαθε τοὺς πολεμίους ἄμ' ἡμέρα προσιών τῆ παρεμβολῆ. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἱππεῖς καὶ μισθοφόρων πεζοὺς χιλίους προαπέστειλεν εἰς τὸ πρὸς τὴν μεσόγειον ἀνατεῖνον μέρος τῆς τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατοπεδείας. οὖτοι δ' ἡσαν οἱ μισθοφόροι τῷ Διονυσίψ παρὰ πάντας ἀλλοτριώτατοι καὶ πλεονάκις στάσεις καὶ ταραχὰς ποιοῦντες.

3 διόπερ ό μεν Διονύσιος τοις ίππεθσιν ήν παρηγγελκώς, όταν εξάπτωνται των πολεμίων, φεύγειν

<sup>1</sup> sal deleted by Dindorf, Vogel.
2 So Dindorf: anoaraous.

of no avail both because of the severity of the disease 300 a.c. and the swiftness of the death; for death came on the fifth day or on the sixth at the latest, amidst such terrible tortures that all looked upon those who had fallen in the war as blessed. In fact all who watched beside the sick were struck by the plague, and thus the lot of the ill was miserable, since no one was willing to minister to the unfortunate. For not only did any not akin abandon one another, but even brothers were forced to desert brothers, friends to sacrifice friends out of fear for their own lives.

72. When Dionysius heard of the disaster that had struck the Carthaginians, he manned eighty ships and ordered Pharacidas and Leptines the admirals to attack the enemy's ships at daybreak, while he himself, profiting by a moonless night, made a circuit with his army and, passing by the temple of Cyane, arrived near the camp of the enemy at daybreak before they were aware of it. The cavalry and a thousand infantry from the mercenaries were dispatched in advance against that part of the Carthaginian encampment which extended toward the interior. These mercenaries were the most hostile, beyond all others, to Dionysius and had engaged time and again in factional quarrels and uproars. Consequently Dionysius had issued orders to the cavalry that as soon as they came to blows with the enemy they should flee and leave the mercenaries

<sup>8</sup> Cp. Rook 5. 4.

<sup>1</sup> Hans Zinsser (Rats, Lice and History, pp. 124-127) thinks that this plague was "the severe, confluent type of smallpox in which death on the fifth or sixth day is not exceptional," despite the fact that there is almost general agreement among scholars that smallpox was not known in the Greek and Roman classical period.

και τους μιαθοφόρους έγκαταλιπείν. ὧν ποιησάντων το προσταχθέν ούτοι μέν απαντες κατεκόπησαν, ο δε Διονύσιος αμα τήν τε παρεμβολήν καὶ τὰ φρούρια πολιορκεῖν ἐπεχείρησε καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων δια το παράδοξον καταπεπληγμένων καί παραβοηθούντων τεταραγμένως, αὐτός μὲν φρούριον την καλουμένην Πολίχναν είλε κατά κράτος, έκ δε θατέρου μέρους οί ίππεις και τινές των τριήρων προσπλεύσασαι το πρός τῷ Δάσκωνι χω-4 ρίου εξεπολιόρκησαν. εὐθύ δ' αι τε ναθς απασαι τον επίπλουν εποιήσαντο, και κατά τάς των φρουρίων άλώσεις επαλαλάξαντος του στρατοπέδου περιδεείς οι βάρβαροι καθειστήκεισαν. Εξ άρχης μεν γάρ επί το πεζον στράτευμα πάντες συνέδραμον, άμυνόμενοι τους την παρεμβολήν πολιορκούντας ώς δε και τον των νεών επίπλουν είδον. πάλιν έξεβοήθουν έπὶ τὸν ναύσταθμον καταταγούμενοι δ' ὑπὸ τῆς ὀξύτητος τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν ἐαυ-5 των σπουδήν είχον απρακτον. έτι γάρ αὐτών άναβαινόντων επί τὰ καταστρώματα καὶ πληρούντων τας τριήρεις, αί πολέμιαι ναῦς ταῖς εἰρεσίαις έλαυνόμεναι πλαγίαις ενέσειον πολλάκις. εκ μεν ούν μιας επικαίρου πληγής κατέδυον τας τιτρωσκομένας ναύς αι δε πλείσσεν εμβολαίς άναρρήττουσαι τὰς συγγεγομφωμένας σανίδας δεινήν 6 έκπληξιν τοις άντιταττομένοις παρείχοντο. πάντη δε των εξοχωτάτων νεών θρανομένων, αι μεν έκ των εμβολών αναρρηττόμεναι λακίδες έξαίσιον εποιούντο ψόφον, ο δε παρά την μάχην παρήκων αίγιαλὸς έγεμε νεκρών.

73. Οἱ δὰ Συρακόσιοι τῷ προτερήματι συμφιλοτιμούμενοι κατὰ πολλήν σπουδήν ἀλλήλους ἔφθανον

## BOOK XIV. 72, 3-73, 1

in the lurch : when this order had been carried out see m.c. and the mercenaries had been slain to a man. Dionvsius set about laying siege to both the camp and the forts. While the barbarians were still dismayed at the unexpected attack and bringing up reinforcements in disorderly fashion, he on his part took by storm the fort known as Polichna; and on the opposite side the cavalry, aided in an attack by some of the triremes, stormed the area around Dascon. At once all the warships joined in the attack, and when the army raised the war-cry at the taking of the forts, the barbarians were in a state of panie. For at the outset they had rushed in a body against the land troops in order to ward off the assailants of the camp; but when they saw the fleet also coming up to attack, they turned back to give help to the naval station. The swift course of events, however, outstripped them and their haste was without result. For even as they were mounting the decks and manning the triremes, the enemy's vessels, driven on by rowers, struck the ships athwart in many cases. Now one well-delivered blow would sink a damaged ship; but blows in repeated rammings, which broke through the nailed timbers, struck terrible dismay into the opponents. Since all about the mightiest ships were being shattered, the rending of the vessels by the crushing blows raised a great noise and the shore extending along the scene of the battle was strewn with corpses.

73. The Syracusans, eagerly co-operating in their success, rivalled one another in great zeal to be the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> dal after ἀμυνόμενοι deleted by Wesseling.
<sup>2</sup> πολλάκις Post: μόγις.

επιπηδώντες ταις πολεμίαις ναυσί, και τους βαρβάρους καταπεπληγμένους το μέγεθος της περι-2 στάσεως περιχυθέντες εφόνευον. ου μήν ουδ' οί πεζή τῷ ναυστάθμω προσβάλλοντες ελείποντο τῆς τούτων σπουδής εν οίς συνέβαινεν είναι καὶ αὐτον τον Διονύσιον, παριππευκότα πρός το κατά Δάσκωνα μέρος. εύρόντες γάρ πεντηκοντόρους τετταράκοντα νενεωλκημένας, και κατά το συνεχές ναθς παρορμούσας όλκάδας καί τινας των τριήρων, 3 πῦρ εἰς αὐτὰς ἐνῆκαν. ταχὸ δὲ τῆς φλογὸς εἰς ύψος άρθείσης και χεομένης έπι πολύν τόπον έφλέγετο τὰ σκάφη, καὶ τῶν ἐμπόρων τε καὶ ναυκλήρων οὐδείς εδύνατο παραβοηθήσαι διὰ τὸ πλήθος του πυρός. ἐπιγενομένου δέι μεγάλου πνεύματος εκ των νενεωλκημένων σκαφων εφέρετο 4 τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ τὰς ὁρμούσας ὁλκάδας. τῶν δ' ἀνδρῶν εκκολυμβώντων δια τον από της πνιγός φόβον, καὶ τῶν ἀγκυρίων ἀποκαιομένων, διὰ τὸν κλύδωνα συνέκρουον αί ναθς, καὶ τινές μέν ὑπ' άλληλων συντριβόμεναι διεφθείροντο, τινές δε ύπο του πνεύματος ώθούμεναι, αί πλείσται δ' ύπο τοῦ πυρός 5 απώλλυντο. ένθα δη των φορτηγών πλοίων αναφερομένης της φλογός διά των ιστίων και τάς κεραίας καταφλεγούσης, τοῦς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως θεατρικήν συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι την θέαν και τοις δι' ασέβειαν κεραυνωθείοι φαίνεσθαι παραπλησίαν την απώλειαν των βαρβάρων.

74. Διόπερ τοῖς εὐτυχήμασι μετεωριζόμενοι τὰ πορθμεῖα συνεπλήρουν οἱ τε πρεσβύτατοι τῶν παί-

## BOOK XIV. 73, 1-74, 1

first to board the enemy's ships, and surrounding the me me. barbarians, who were terror-stricken at the magnitude of the peril they faced, put them to death. Nor did the infantry who were attacking the naval station show less zeal than the others, and among them, it so happened, was Dionysius himself, who had ridden on horseback to the section about Dascon. Finding there forty ships of fifty oars, which had been drawn up on the beach, and beside them merchant ships and some triremes at anchor, they set fire to them. Quickly the flame leaped up into the sky and, spreading over a large area, caught the shipping, and none of the merchants or owners was able to bring any help because of the violence of the blaze. Since a strong wind arose, the fire was carried from the ships drawn up on land to the merchantmen lying at anchor. When the crews dived into the water from fear of suffocation and the anchor cables were burnt off, the ships came into collision because of the rough seas, some of them being destroyed as they struck one another, and others as the wind drove them about, but the majority of them were victims of the fire. Thereupon, as the flames swept up through the sails of the merchant-ships and consumed the yard-arms, the sight was like a scene from the theatre to the inhabitants of the city and the destruction of the barbarians resembled that of men struck by lightning from heaven for their impiety.

74. Forthwith, elated by the Syracusan successes, both the oldest youths and such aged men as were

<sup>1 32</sup> added by Stephanus.

muyos Eichstädt, muyos Reiske, Vogel, oloyos Wesseling : at added by Reiske. πληγής. So Wesseling: πλείστον.

δων και των παρηκμακότων ταις ήλικίαις οι μή τελείως ύπο του γήρως καταπονούμενοι πρός δέ τας κατά του λιμένα ναθς ώς έτυχε προσπλέοντες άθρόοι τὰς μεν προδιεφθαρμένας ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς διήρπαζου, εκλέγοντες των χρησίμων τα δυνάμενα βοηθείας τυχείν, τὰς δ' ἀκεραίους εξαπτόμενοι 2 κατήγον είς την πόλιν. ούτως οὐδὲ οί τῶν κατά πόλεμον αφιέμενοι δια τας ήλικίας καρτερείν έδύναντο, διά δὲ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς χαρᾶς ἡ φιλοτιμία της ψυχης κατίσχυε την ηλικίαν. του δέ περί την νίκην λόγου διαρρυέντος κατά την πόλιν, τάς οἰκίας εξέλειπον όμου τοις οικέταις παίδες και γυναίκες. και πάντων σπευδόντων επί τὰ τείχη πᾶς τόπος 3 έγεμε των θεωμένων. τούτων δ' οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸν ούρανδυ τάς χείρας έκτείναντες εύχαρίστουν τοίς θεοίς, οί δε της των ιερών συλήσεως έφασαν είληφέναι τους βαρβάρους την παρά του δαιμονίου 4 τιμωρίαν. εφαίνετο γάρ διά μακρού θεομαχία παραπλήσιος ή θέα, τοσούτων μεν νεών πυρπολουμένων, της δε φλογός διά των ιστίων είς ύψος αναφερομένης, και των μεν Ελλήνων καθ' εκαστον των προτερημάτων επισημαινομένων έξαισίω βοή, τών δε βαρβάρων δια την εκπληξιν του δεινου πολύν θόρυβον και κραυγήν σύμμικτον ποιούντων. δ οὐ μὴν άλλὰ τότε μέν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἡ μάχη διελύθη, και Διονύσιος επεστρατοπέδευσε τοίς βαρβάροις πρός το του Διός ιερόν παρεμβολήν ποιησαμενος.

75. Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι κατὰ γῆν ἄμα καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἡττημένοι διεπρεσβεύσαντο πρὸς Διονύσοιον λάθρα των Συρακοσίων ἡξίουν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀφιέναι τοὺς περιλειπομένους εἰς Λιβύην δια-

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not yet entirely incapacitated by years manned see a.c. lighters, and approaching without order all together made for the ships in the harbour. Those which the fire had ruined they plundered, stripping them of anything that could be saved, and such as were undamaged they took in tow and brought to the city. Thus even those who by age were exempt from war duties were unable to restrain themselves, but in their excessive joy their ardent spirit prevailed over their age. When the news of the victory ran through the city, children and women, together with their households, left their homes, everyone hurrying to the walls, and the whole extent was crowded with spectators. Of these some raised their hands to heaven and returned thanks to the gods, and others declared that the barbarians had suffered the punishment of heaven for their plundering of the temples. For from a distance the sight resembled a battle with the gods, such a number of ships going up in fire, the flames leaping aloft among the sails, the Greeks applauding every success with great shouting, and the barbarians in their consternation at the disaster keeping up a great uproar and confused crying. But as night came the battle ceased for the time, and Dionysius kept to the field against the barbarians. pitching a camp near the temple of Zeus.

75. Now that the Carthaginians had suffered defeat on land as well as on sea, they entered into negotiations with Dionysius without the knowledge of the Syracusans. They asked him to allow their remaining troops to cross back to Libya and promised to give

<sup>1</sup> άφιθμενοι] άφειμένοι Dindorf.
2 So Wurm: κατήρχε.

κομισθήναι, και τά κατά την παρεμβολήν αὐτοίς 2 όντα τριακόσια τάλαντα δώσειν επηγγέλλοντο. δε Διονύσιος απαντας μεν αδύνατον είναι φυγείν απεφαίνετο, τους δέ πολιτικούς συνεχώρησε μόνους νυκτός ἀπελθείν λάθρα κατά θάλατταν ήδει γάρ τούς Συρακοσίους και τούς συμμάχους οὐκ ἐπιτρέψοντας αύτω περί τούτων συγγωρείν τοίς 3 πολεμίοις. ταθτα δ' έπραττεν ό Διονύσιος οὐ βουλόμενος τελείως απολέσθαι την των Καργηδονίων δύναμιν, όπως οί Συρακόσιοι διά του άπο τούτων φόβον μηδέποτε σχολήν λάβωσιν αντέχεσθαι τής έλευθερίας. ὁ μεν ουν Διονύσιος συνθέμενος είς ημέραν τετάρτην ύπο νύκτα την φυγήν τοις Καρχηδονίοις, το στρατόπεδον απήγαγεν είς την πόλιν. 'Ο δ' 'Ιμέλκων νυκτός παρακομίσας είς την άκρόπολιν τὰ τριακόσια τάλαντα παρέδωκε τοις έν τῆ Νήσω τεταγμένοις ύπο τοῦ τυράννου, αὐτὸς δ', έπει παρήν ο συγκείμενος χρόνος, νυκτός έπλήρωσε τετταράκοντα τριήρεις των πολιτικών καὶ καταλιπών το λοιπόν απαν στρατόπεδον ώρμησε φεύγειν. 5 ήδη δ' αὐτοῦ τὸν λιμένα διεκπεπλευκότος ήσθοντό τινες των Κορινθίων τον δρασμόν, και ταχέως απήγγειλαν τω Διονυσίω. του δέ τους στρατιώτας τε<sup>3</sup> καλούντος είς τὰ ὅπλα καὶ κατὰ σχολήν τούς ήγεμόνας άθροίζοντος, ούκ ανέμειναν αύτον οί Κορίνθιοι, ταχύ δ' αναχθέντες επί τους Καρχηδογίους και πρός άλλήλους έν ταις ειρεσίαις φιλοτιμούμενοι τὰς ἐσχάτας Φοινίσσας ναθς κατέλαβον. 6 ας τοις εμβόλοις συντρίψαντες κατέδυσαν. μετά δέ ταύτα Διονύσιος μεν εξήγαγε την δύναμιν, οί δε him the three hundred talents which they had there most account their camp. Dionysius replied that he would not be able to allow the whole army to escape, but he consented to their citizen troops alone withdrawing secretly at night by sea; for he knew that the Syracusans and their allies would not allow him to make any such terms with the enemy. Dionysius acted as he did to avoid the total destruction of the Carthaginian army, in order that the Syracusans, by reason of their fear of the Carthaginians, should never find a time of ease to assert their freedom. Accordingly Dionysius agreed that the flight of the Carthaginians should take place by night on the fourth day hence

and led his army back into the city. Himilcon during the night conveyed the three hundred talents to the acropolis and delivered them to the persons stationed on the island by the tyrant, and then himself, when the time agreed upon had arrived, manned forty triremes during the night with the citizens of Carthage and began his flight, abandoning all the rest of his army. He had already made his way across the harbour, when some of the Corinthians observed his flight and speedily reported it to Dionysius. Since Dionysius took his time in calling the soldiers to arms and gathering the commanders, the Corinthians did not wait for him but speedily put out to sea against the Carthaginians, and vying with each other in their rowing they caught up with the last Phoenician ships, which they shattered with their rams and sent to the bottom. After this Dionysius led out the army, but the Siceli, who were serving

Καρχηδονίους after δι deleted by Eichstädt.
 So Reiske: ἐνί.
 M Dindorf: τότε.

συμμαχούντες τοις Καρχηδονίοις Σικελοί φθάσαντες τους Συρακοσίους έφυγον δια της μεσογείου και σχεδον πάντες διεσώθησαν είς τας πατρίδας. 7 και Διονύσιος μεν τας όδους διαλαβών φυλακαίς απήγαγε την δύναμιν επί την των πολεμίων στρατοπεδείαν έτι νυκτός ούσης οί δε βάρβαροι καταλειφθέντες υπό τε του στρατηγού και των Καρχηδονίων, έτι δε των Σικελών, ηθύμησαν καὶ 8 καταπλαγέντες έφευγον. οι μέν έν ταις όδοις ταις προφυλακαις εμπίπτοντες συνελαμβάνοντο, οι δε πλειστοι τὰ ὅπλα ριπτοῦντες συνήντων, δεόμενοι φείσασθαι του βίου μόνοι δὲ "Ιβηρες ήθροισμένοι μετά των οπλων επεκηρυκεύοντο περί συμμαγίας. 9 Διονύσιος δέ πρός μέν τούτους σπεισάμενος κατέταξε τους "Ιβηρας είς τους μισθοφόρους, το δέ λοιπον πλήθος εζώγρησε και την λοιπην άποσκευήν εφήκε τοις στρατιώταις διαρπάσαι. 76. Ούτως μέν ούν τοις Καρχηδονίοις ή τύχη

ταχείαν την μεταβολήν ἐποίησε, καὶ πασιν ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξεν, ὡς οἱ μεῖζον τοῦ καθήκοντος ἐπαιρόμενοι ταχέως ἐξελέγχουσι την ἰδίαν ἀσθένειαν. 2 ἐκείνοι γὰρ τῶν κατὰ Σικελίαν πόλεων σχεδὸν ἀπασῶν πλὴν Συρακουσῶν κρατοῦντες, καὶ ταύτην ἀλώσεσθαι προσδοκῶντες, ἐξαίφνης ὑπὲρ τῆς ίδίας πατρίδος ἀγωνιᾶν ἡναγκάσθησαν, καὶ τοὺς τάφους τῶν Συρακοσίων ἀνατρέψαντες πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας ἐπείδον ἀτάφους διὰ τὸν λοιμὸν σεσωρευμένους, πυρπολήσαντες δὲ τὴν χώραν τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐκ μεταβολῆς εὐθὺς είδον τὸν ίδιον

λοιπὴν deleted by Dindorf, Vogel.
 So Dindorf: τάχιον.
 πόλιων added by Dindorf.

in the army of the Carthaginians, forestalling the see a.c. Syracusans, fled through the interior and, almost to a man, made their way in safety to their native homes. Dionysius stationed guards at intervals along the roads and then led his army against the enemy's camp, while it was still night. The barbarians, abandoned as they were by their general, by the Carthaginians, and by the Siceli as well, were dispirited and fled in dismay. Some were taken captive as they fell in with the guards on the roads, but the majority threw down their arms, surrendered themselves, and asked only that their lives be spared. Some Iberians alone massed together with their arms and dispatched a herald to treat about taking service with him. Dionysius made peace with the Iberians and enrolled them in his mercenaries, but the rest of the multitude he made captive and whatever remained of the baggage he turned over to the soldiers to plunder.

76. With such swiftness did Fortune work a change in the affairs of the Carthaginians, and point out to all mankind that those who become elated above due measure quickly give proof of their own weakness. For they who had in their hands practically all the cities of Sicily with the exception of Syracuse and expected its capture, of a sudden were forced to be anxious for their own fatherland; they who overthrew the tombs of the Syracusans gazed upon one hundred and fifty thousand dead lying in heaps and unburied because of the plague; they who wasted with fire the territory of the Syracusans now in their turn saw their own fleet of a sudden go up in flames;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> These Iberians turn up later among the troops sent by Dionysius to aid the Lacedaemonians in 369 s.c. (Book 15. 70; Xenophon, Hell. 7. 1. 20).

στόλον έμπυρισθέντα, εἰς δὲ τὸν λιμένα πάση τῆ δυνάμει καταπλέοντες υπερηφάνως, και τοις Συρακοσίοις επιδεικνύμενοι τας εσυτών ευτυχίας, ηγνόουν έαυτούς μέλλοντας νυκτός άποδράσεσθαι καί τούς συμμάχους εκδότους καταλιπείν τοίς πολεμίοις. 3 αὐτός δε ό στρατηγός ό ποιησάμενος σκηνήν μεν τό του Διός ιερόν, πρόσοδον δε τον εκ των ιερών συληθέντα πλουτον, αισχρώς μετ' ολίγων είς Καρχηδόνα διέφυγεν, όπως μή τον οφειλόμενον τη φύσει θάνατον αποδούς άθωος γένηται των ασεβημάτων, άλλ' εν τη πατρίδι περιβόητον έχη του βίου 4 ύπο πάντων ονειδιζόμενος. είς τοσούτο δ' ήλθεν άτυχίας, ώστε μετά της εύτελεστάτης έσθητος περιήει τους κατά την πόλιν ναούς κατηγορών της ίδίας ἀσεβείας καὶ περί τῶν εἰς θεοὺς ἀμαρτημάτων δμολογουμένην διδούς τιμωρίαν τῷ δαιμονίω. τὸ δὲ τέλος έαυτοῦ καταγνούς θάνατον ἀπεκαρτέρησε, πολλήν τοις πολίταις απολιπών δεισιδαιμονίαν. εὐθὺ γὰρ καὶ τἄλλα τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς η τύχη συνήθροισεν.

77. Της γάρ συμφοράς διακηρυχθείσης κατά την Λιβύην, οἱ σύμμαχοι καὶ πάλαι μὲν² μισοῦντες τὸ βάρος της τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἡγεμονίας, τότε δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐν Συρακούσαις προδοσίαν πολὺ μᾶλλον, ἐξέκαυσαν τὸ κατ' αὐτῶν μῦσος.

2 διόπερ ἄμα μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς προαχθέντες, ἄμα δὲ καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν ἀτυχίαν, ἀντείχοντο τῆς ἐλευθερίας. διαπρεσβευσάμενοι δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ῆθροισαν δύναμιν, καὶ προελθόντες ἐν ὑπ-

they who so arrogantly sailed with their whole armada me na into the harbour and flaunted their successes before the Syracusans had little thought that they were to steal away by night and leave their allies at the mercy of their enemy. The general himself, who had taken the temple of Zeus for his headquarters and the pillaged wealth of the sanctuaries for his own possession, slipped away in disgrace to Carthage with a few survivors, in order that he might not by dying and paying a debt to nature go unscathed for his acts of impicty, but should in his native land lead a life that was notorious, while reproaches were heaped on him on every hand. Indeed, so calamitous was his lot that he went about the temples of the city in the cheapest clothing, charging himself with impiety and offering acknowledged retribution to heaven for his sins against the gods. In the end he passed sentence of death upon himself and starved himself to death. And he bequeathed to his fellow citizens a deep respect for religion, for straightway Fortune heaped upon them the other calamities of war as well.

77. When the news of the Carthaginian disaster had spread throughout Libya, their allies, who had long hated the oppressive rule of the Carthaginians and even more at this time because of the betrayal of the soldiers at Syracuse, were inflamed against them. Consequently, being led on partly by anger and partly by contempt for them because of the disaster they had suffered, they endeavoured to assert their independence. After exchanging messages with one another they collected an army, moved

μὰν τό τ. Δ. lepòr Dindorf: ἐν τῷ τ. Δ. lepῷ.
 μὰν and δὲ below deleted by Vogol,
 So Wesseling: προσαγθέντης.

3 αίθρω κατεστρατοπέδευσαν. ταχύ δ' οὐ μόνον έλευθέρων, άλλα και δούλων συντρεχόντων, εν όλίγω χρόνω μυριάδες είκοσι συνηθροίσθησαν. καταλαβόμενοι δε Τύνητα, πόλιν ου μακράν της Καρχηδόνος κειμένην, έκ ταύτης παρετάττοντο, και πλεονεκτούντες έν ταις μάχαις τειχήρεις τούς Φοίνικας 4 συνείχου. οι δε Καρχηδόνιοι φανερώς ύπο τών θεών πολεμούμενοι το μέν πρώτον κατ' όλίγους! ξυνιόντες έξεταράττοντο καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἰκέτευον λήξαι τής όργης μετά δε ταυτα πάσαν την πόλιν δεισιδαιμονία κατέσχε και δέος, έκαστου τον της πόλεως ανδραποδισμόν τη διανοία προλαμβάνοντος. διόπερ εψηφίσαντο παντί τρόπω 5 τους ἀσεβηθέντας θεους εξιλάσασθαι. ου παρειλη-φότες δ' εν τοις ιεροις ουτε Κόρην ουτε Δήμητρα, τούτων εερείς τους επισημοτάτους των πολιτών κατέστησαν, και μετά πάσης σεμνότητος τας θεάς ίδρυσάμενοι τὰς θυσίας τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἤθεσιν ἐποίουν, καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄντων Ἑλλήνων τούς χαριεστάτους επιλέξαντες επί την των θεών θεραπείαν έταξαν. μετά δὲ ταθτα ναθς τε κατεσκεύαζον και τὰ πρός του πόλεμου επιμελώς ητοίμαζον.

Οἱ δ' ἀποστάται μιγάδες ὅντες οὕδ' ἡγεμόνας ἀξιοχρέους είχον, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, αὐτοῖς μὲν διὰ τὸ πληθος ἐξέλειπον αἰ τροφαί, τοῖς δὲ Καρχη-δονίοις κατὰ θάλατταν ἐκ Σαρδοῦς παρεκομίζοντο, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐστασίαζον περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, καὶ τινες αὐτῶν χρήμασιν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων διαφθαρέντες ἐγκατέλειπον τὰς κοινὰς ἐλπίδας. ὅθεν διά τε τὴν σπάνιν τῆς τροφῆς καί τινων προδοσίαν,

1 So Reiske: dhiyor.

forward, and pitched camp in the open. Since they see u.c. were speedily joined not only by freemen but also by slaves, there was gathered in a short time a body of two hundred thousand men. Seizing Tynes, a city situated not far from Carthage, they based their line of battle on it, and since they had the better of the fighting, they confined the Phoenicians within their walls. The Carthaginians, against whom the gods were clearly fighting, at first gathered in small groups and in great confusion and besought the deity to put an end to its wrath; thereupon the entire city was seized by superstitious fear and dread, as every man anticipated in imagination the enslavement of the city. Consequently they voted by every means to propitiate the gods who had been sinned against. Since they had included neither Corê nor Demeter in their rites, they appointed their most renowned citizens to be priests of these goddesses, and consecrating statues of them with all solemnity, they conducted their rites, following the ritual used by the Greeks. They also chose out the most prominent Greeks who lived among them and assigned them to the service of the goddesses. After this they constructed ships and made careful provision of supplies for the war.

Meanwhile the revolters, who were a motley mass, possessed no capable commanders, and what was of first importance, they were short of provisions because they were so numerous, while the Carthaginians brought supplies by sea from Sardinia. Furthermore, they quarreiled among themselves over the supreme command and some of them were bought off with Carthaginian money and deserted the common cause. As a result, both because of the lack of provisions and because of treachery on the part of some, they

οθτοι μεν διαλυθέντες είς τὰς πατρίδας ἀπήλλαξαν τοῦ μεγίστου φόβου Καρχηδονίους.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Λιβύην ἐν τούτοις ήν.

78. Διονύσιος δὲ θεωρῶν τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἀλλοτριώτατα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχοντας, καὶ φοβούμενος μὴ 
διὰ τούτων καταλυθῆ, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ᾿Αριστοτέλην 
2 τὸν ἀφηγούμενον αὐτῶν συνέλαβε, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα 
τοῦ πλήθους συντρέχοντος μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ 
τοὺς μισθοὺς πικρότερον ἀπαιτούντων, τὸν μὲν ᾿Αριστοτέλην ἔφησεν ἀποστέλλειν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα 
κρίσιν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις πολίταις ὑφέξοντα, τοῖς δὲ 
μισθοφόροις ὡς μυρίοις οὖσι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἔδωκεν 
ἐν τοῖς μισθοῖς τὴν τῶν Λεοντίνων πόλιν τε καὶ 
χώραν. ἀσμένως δ᾽ αὐτῶν ὑπακουσάντων διὰ τὸ 
κάλλος τῆς χώρας, οὖτοι μὲν κατακληρουχήσαντες 
ὥκουν ἐν Λεοντίνοις, ὁ δὲ Διονύσιος ἄλλους μισθοφόρους ἔενολογήσας, τούτοις τε καὶ τοῖς ἡλευθε-

4 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν Καρχηδονίων συμφορὰν οἱ διασωζόμενοι τῶν ἐξηνδραποδισμένων κατὰ Σικελίαν πόλεων ἡθροίζοντο, καὶ τὰς ιδίας κομιζόμενοι

οωμένοις ολκέταις ένεπίστευσε την άρχην.

5 πατρίδας έαυτους άνελάμβανου. Διουύσιος δ' είς Μεσσήνην κατώκισε χιλίους μεν Λοκρούς, τετρακισχιλίους δε Μεδμαίους, έξακοσίους δε τῶν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου Μεσσηνίων, ἔκ τε Ζακύνθου καὶ Ναυπάκτου φευγόντων. θεωρῶν δε τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους προσκόπτοντας ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς ὑφ' ἐαυτῶν ἐκβεβλημένους Μεσσηνίους ἐν ἐπισήμω πόλει κατοικίζεσθαι, μετήγαγεν ἐκ Μεσσήνης αὐτούς, καὶ χωρίον τι παρὰ θάλατταν δοὺς τῆς 'Αβακαινίνης χώρας ἀπετέμετο καὶ προσώρισεν ὅσον αὐτός μέσ

broke up and scattered to their native lands, thus 300 s.r. relieving the Carthaginians of the greatest fear.

Such was the state of affairs in Libya at this

time.

78. Dionysius, seeing that the mercenaries were most hostile to him and fearing that they might depose him, first of all arrested Aristotle, their commander. At this, when the body of them ran together under arms and demanded their pay with some sharpness, Dionysius declared that he was sending Aristotle to Lacedaemon to face trial among his fellow citizens, and offered to the mercenaries, who numbered about ten thousand, in lieu of their pay the city and territory of the Leontines. To this they gladly agreed because the territory was good land, and after portioning it out in allotments they made their home in Leontini. Dionysius then recruited other mercenaries and trusted in them and his freedmen to maintain the government.

After the disaster which the Carthaginians had suffered, the survivors from the cities of Sicily that had been enslaved gathered together, gained back their native lands, and revived their strength. Dionysius settled in Messene a thousand Locrians, four thousand Medmaeans, and six hundred Messenians from the Peloponnesus who were exiles from Zacynthus and Naupactus. But when he observed that the Lacedaemonians were offended that the Messenians whom they had driven out were settled in a renowned city, he removed them from Messene, and giving them a place on the sea, he cut off some of the area of Abacaene and annexed it to their territory.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> From Medma, a city of Bruttium, founded by the Locrians (Strabo, 6. 1. 5).

6 ρος ἀπετέμετο. οἱ δὲ Μεσσήνιοι τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἀνόμασαν Τυνδαρίδα, πολιτευόμενοι δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὐνοϊκῶς καὶ¹ πολλοὺς πολιτογραφοῦντες ταχὸ

πλείους πεντακισχιλίων εγένοντο.

7 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰς τὴν τῶν Σικελῶν χώραν πλεονάκις στρατεύσας Μέναινον μὲν καὶ Μοργαντῖνον είλε, πρὸς "Αγυριν δὲ τὸν 'Αγυριναίων τύραννον καὶ Δάμωνα τὸν δυναστεύοντα Κεντοριπίνων, ἔτι δ' 'Ερβιταίους τε καὶ 'Λσσωρίνους συνθήκας ἐποιήσατο· παρέλαβε δὲ διὰ προδοσίας Κεψαλοίδιον καὶ Σολοῦντα καὶ τὴν "Ενναν πρὸς δὲ τούτοις πρὸς 'Ερβησσίνους εἰρήνην ἐποιήσατο.'

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Σικελίαν ἐν τούτοις ήν. 79. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Λακεδαιμόνιοι προορώ-

μενοι τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πρός Πέρσας πολέμου, τὸν ἔτερον τῶν βασιλέων 'Αγησίλαον ἐπέστησαν τοῖς πράγμασιν. οὖτος δ' ἔξακισχιλίους στρατιώτας ἐπιλέξας, τριάκοντα δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν εἰς τὸ συν-ἔδριον τοὺς ἀρίστους κατατάξας, διεβίβασε τὴν ε δύναμιν ἐκ' τῆς Αὐλίδος εἰς "Εφεσον. ἐκεῖ δὲ στρατολογήσας τετρακισχιλίους, προήγαγε τὴν δύναμιν εἰς ϋπαιθρον, οὖσαν πεζῶν μὲν μυρίων, ἱππέων δὲ τετρακοσίων ἡκολούθει δ' ἀγοραῖος αὐτοῖς ὅχλος καὶ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς χάριν οὐκ ἐλάττων τοῦ προειρημένου. διεξιὼν δὸ τὸ Καῦστριον πεδίον, διέφθειρε τὴν χώραν τὴν ὑπὸ τοὺς Πέρσας οὖσαν.

1 seel added by Dindorf.

\* & deleted by Dindorf, Vogel.

<sup>\*</sup> στρατεύσας Μέναινον Wesseling: ἐστράτευσαν σμένεον.
\* So Wesseling: είλου . . . ἐποιήσαντο . . . παρέλαβον . . . ἐποιήσαντο.
\* τὴν added by Fichstädt.

Aὐλίδος suggested by Vogel (Xen. Hell. 3. 4. 3), 'Aaíaς PAH, Εθρώπης cel.

## BOOK XIV. 78. 5-79. 3

The Messenians named their city Tyndaris, and by 196 m.c. living in concord together and admitting many to citizenship, they speedily came to number more than five thousand citizens.

After this Dionysius waged a number of campaigns against the territory of the Siceli, in the course of which he took Menaenum and Morgantinum and struck a treaty with Agyris, the tyrant of the Agyrinaeuns, and Damon, the lord of the Centoripans, as well as with the Herbitaeans and the Assorini. He also gained by treachery Cephaloedium, Solüs, and Enna, and made peace besides with the Herbessini.

Such was the state of affairs in Sicily at this time.

79.¹ In Greece the Lacedaemonians, foresceing how great their war with the Persians would be, put one of the two kings, Agesilaüs, in command. After he had levied six thousand soldiers and constituted a council of thirty of his foremost fellow citizens, he transported the armament from Aulis¹ to Ephesus. Here he enlisted four thousand soldiers and took the field with his army, which numbered ten thousand infantry and four hundred cavalry. They were also accompanied by a throng of no less number which provided a market and was intent upon plunder. He traversed the Plain of Cayster and laid waste the territory held by the Persians until he arrived at

<sup>1</sup> The narrative is resumed from chapter 39.

<sup>2</sup> Obviously a staff of administrators for him to use in important posts in the conduct of the war, as is clear, s.g.,

from Xenophon, Hell. 3. 4. 20.

Agesilatis fancies himself a second Agamemnon, leading the Greeks in a new Trojan War, and would repeat Agamemnon's farewell sacrifices at Aulis. See Plutarch, Agesilatis, 6. 4-6; Xenophon, Hell. 3. 4. 3; 5. 5.

μέχρι ότου κατήντησεν εἰς Κύμην. ἐκεῖθεν δ' όρμηθεὶς τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ θέρους τήν τε Φρυγίαν καὶ τὰ συνεχῆ διετέλεσε πορθῶν, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐμπλήσας ἀφελείας ὑπὸ τὸ φθινόπωρον ἀνέκαμψεν

els "Eperov.

4 Τούτων δέ πραττομένων Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέν πρέσβεις απέστειλαν πρός Νεφερέα τον Αλγύπτου βασιλέα περί συμμαχίας, δε αντί της βοηθείας έδωρήσατο σκευήν τοις Σπαρτιάταις έκατον τριήρεσι σίτου δε μυριάδας πεντήκοντα. Φάραξ δε ό των Λακεδαιμονίων ναύαρχος αναχθείς εκ 'Ρόδου ναυσίν έκατον είκοσι κατέπλευσε της Καρίας προς Σάσανδα, φρούριον απέχου της Καύνου σταδίους 5 έκατον πεντήκοντα. εκείθεν δε δρμώμενος έπολιόρκει την Καθνον καὶ Κόνωνα μεν τον τοῦ βασιλικού στόλου την ήνεμονίαν έγοντα, διατρίβοντα δ' ἐν Καύνω μετὰ νεῶν τεσσαράκοντα. 'Αρταφέρνους δὲ καὶ Φαρναβάζου μετὰ πολλής δυνάμεως παραβοηθήσαντος τοῖς Καυνίοις δ Φάραξ έλυσε την πολιορκίαν και μετά του στόλου παντός 6 άπηρεν' els 'Ρόδον. μετά δε ταῦτα Κόνων μεν άθροίσας ογδοήκοντα τριήρεις έπλευσεν είς Χερρόνησον, 'Ρόδιοι δ' εκβαλόντες τον των Πελοπον-

υησίων στόλον ἀπέστησαν ἀπό Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τον Κόνωνα προσεδέξαντο μετὰ τοῦ στόλου παντὸς 7 εἰς τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸν δωρηθέντα σῖτον κατακομίζοντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν ἀπόστασιν τῶν 'Ροδίων ἀγνοοῦντες τεθαρρηκότες προσέπλεον τῆ νήσω. 'Ρόδιοι δὲ καὶ Κόνων ὁ τῶν Περσῶν ναύαργος καταγαγόντες τὰς ναῦς εἰς τοὺς

8 λιμένας ἐπλήρωσαν σίτου τὴν πόλιν. παρεγενήθησαν δὲ τῷ Κόνωνι τριήρεις ἐνενήκοντα, δέκα μὲν

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## BOOK XIV, 79, 8-8

Cymê. From this as his base he spent the larger part we ac. of the summer ravaging Phrygia and neighbouring territory; and after sating his army with pillage he returned toward the beginning of autumn to Ephesus.

While these events were taking place, the Lacedaemonians dispatched ambassadors to Nephereus,1 the king of Egypt, to conclude an alliance; he, in place of the aid requested, made the Spartans a gift of equipment for one hundred triremes and five hundred thousand measures of grain. Pharax, the Lacedaemonian admiral, sailing from Rhodes with one hundred and twenty ships, put in at Sasanda in Caria, a fortress one hundred and fifty stades from Caunus. From this as his base he laid siege to Caunus and blockaded Conon, who was commander of the King's fleet and lay at Caunus with forty ships. But when Artaphernes and Pharnabazus came with strong forces to the aid of the Caunians, Pharax lifted the siege and sailed off to Rhodes with the entire fleet. After this Conon gathered eighty triremes and sailed to the Chersonesus, and the Rhodians, having expelled the Peloponnesian fleet, revolted from the Lacedaemonians and received Conon, together with his entire fleet, into their city. Now the Lacedaemonians, who were bringing the gift of grain from Egypt, being unaware of the defection of the Rhodians, approached the island in full confidence; but the Rhodians and Conon, the Persian admiral, brought the ships into the harbours and stored the city with grain. There also came to Conon ninety triremes, ten of them from

1 Monetho calls him Nepherites.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Pausanias (6, 7, 6) states that they were persuaded to do so by Conon.

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf, anipyer l', aniprer cet.

άπο Κιλικίας, ογδοήκοντα δ' άπο Φοινίκης, ων δ

Σιδωνίων δυνάστης είχε την ήγεμονίαν. 80. Μετά δε ταθτα 'Αγησίλαος μεν εξαγαγών την δύναμιν είς το Καθστρου πεδίον και την περί Σίπυλον χώραν, εδήωσε τας των εγχωρίων κτήσεις. Τισσαφέρνης δέ μυρίους μέν ίππεις πεντακισμυρίους δέ πεζούς άθροίσας επηκολούθει τοις Λακεδαιμονίοις και τους αποσπωμένους της τάξεως έν ταις προνομαις ανήρει. 'Αγησίλασς δε είς πλινθίον συντάξας τους στρατιώτας άντείχετο τής παρά τον Σίπυλον παρωρείας, επιτηρών καιρον εύθετον είς 2 την των πολεμίων επίθεσιν. επελθών δε την χώραν μέχρι Σάρδεων εφθειρε τούς τε κήπους καί τον παράδεισον τον Τισσαφέρνους, φυτοίς και τοίς άλλοις πολυτελώς πεφιλοτεχυημένον είς τρυφήν καί την εν ειρήνη των αγαθών απόλαυσιν. μετά δέ ταθτ' ἐπιστρέψας, ώς ἀνὰ μέσον ἐγενήθη τῶν τε Σάρδεων καὶ Θυβάρνων, ἀπέστειλε Ξενοκλέα τὸν Σπαρτιάτην μετά γιλίων καὶ τετρακοσίων στρατιωτών νυκτός είς τινα δασύν τόπον, όπως ένεδρεύση 8 τούς βαρβάρους. αὐτὸς δ' ἄμ' ἡμέρα πορευόμενος μετά της δυνάμεως, έπειδή την μέν ενέδραν παρήλλαξεν, οι δε βάρβαροι προσπίπτοντες ατάκτως τοις έπὶ τῆς οὐραγίας ἐξήπτοντο, παραδόξως ἐξαίφνης επέστρεψεν επί τούς Πέρσας. γενομένης δε καρτεράς μάχης, και τοῦ συσσήμου τοῖς κατά την ένέδραν οδσιν άρθέντος, έκείνοι μέν παιανίσαντες επεφέροντο τοις πολεμίοις, οι δε Πέρσαι θεωρούντες αύτους απολαμβανομένους είς μέσον κατεπλά-4 γησαν καὶ παραχρημα ἔφευγον. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Αγησίλαον μέχρι μέν τινος ἐπιδιώξαντες ἀνείλαν μέν ύπερ τους εξακισχιλίους, αιχμαλώτων δε πολύ 998

Cilicia and eighty from Phoenicia, under the command ass a.c. of the lord of the Sidonians.

80. After this Agestlaüs led forth his army into the Plain of Cayster and the country around Sipylus and ravaged the possessions of the inhabitants. Tissaphernes, gathering ten thousand cavalry and fifty thousand infantry, followed close on the Lacedaemonians and cut down any who became separated from the main body while plundering. Agesilaus formed his soldiers in a square and clung to the foothills of Mt. Sipylus, awaiting a favourable opportunity to attack the enemy. He overran the countryside as far as Sardis and ravaged the orchards and the pleasure-park belonging to Tissaphernes, which had been artistically laid out at great expense with plants and all other things that contribute to luxury and the enjoyment in peace of the good things of life. then turned back, and when he was midway between Sardis and Thybarnae, he dispatched by night the Spartan Xenocles with fourteen hundred soldiers to a thickly wooded place to set an ambush for the barbarians. Then Agesilais himself moved at daybreak along the way with his army. And when he had passed the place of ambush and the barbarians were advancing upon him without battle order and harassing his rearguard, to their surprise he suddenly turned about on the Persians. When a sharp battle followed, he raised the signal to the soldiers in ambush and they, chanting the battle song, charged the enemy. The Persians, seeing that they were caught between the forces, were struck with dismay and turned at once in flight. Pursuing them for some distance, Agesilaüs slew over six thousand of them,

<sup>1</sup> So Wesseling: mapooplas.

πλήθος ήθροισαν, την δέ παρεμβολήν διήρπασαν, 5 γέμουσαν πολλών άγαθών. άπὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης Τισσαφέρνης μεν είς Σάρδεις απεχώρησε καταπεπληγμένος την τόλμαν των Λακεδαιμονίων, 'Αγησίλαος δ' επεχείρησε μέν είς τας ανω σατραπείας, εν δε τοις ιεροίς ου δυνάμενος καλλιερήσαι

πάλιν απήγαγε την δύναμιν επί θάλατταν.

ο 'Αρταξέρξης δε δ της 'Ασίας βασιλεύς τά τε έλαττώματα πυθύμενος καί κατορρωδών τον πρός τούς "Ελληνας πόλεμον, δι' όργης είχε τον Τισσαφέρνην. τοῦτον γὰρ αἴτιον τοῦ πολέμου γενονέναι ύπελάμβανε και ύπο της μητρύς δέ Παρυσάτιδος ήν ήξιωμένος τιμωρήσασθαι τον Τισσαφέρνην είχε γάρ αυτη διαφόρως πρός αυτόν έκ τοῦ διαβεβληκέναι τον υίον αὐτης Κύρον, ὅτε 7 την επί τον άδελφον στρατείαν εποιείτο. καταστή-

σας ούν Τιθραύστην ήγεμόνα, τούτω μέν παρήγγειλε συλλαμβάνειν Τισσαφέρνην, προς δε τας πόλεις και τούς σατράπας επεμμεν επιστολας όπως πάν-8 τες τούτω ποιώσι το προσταττόμενον.

Τιθραύστης παραγενόμενος είς Κολοσσάς της Φρυγίας συνέλαβε τον Τισσαφέρνην διά τινος 'Αριαίου" σατράπου λουόμενον, και την κεφαλήν αποκόψας απέστειλε προς τον βασιλέα αὐτος δε τον 'Αγησίλαον πείσας είς λόγους έλθειν έξαμηνιαίους ανοχάς εποιήσατο.

81. Των δέ κατά την Ασίαν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διωκημένων, Φωκείς πρός Βοιωτούς έκ τινων έγκλημάτων είς πόλεμον καταστάντες έπεισαν τούς Λακεδαιμονίους συμμαχείν κατά των Βοιωτών. καὶ τὸ μέν πρώτον αὐτοῖς ἀπέστειλαν Λύσανδρον μετά στρατιωτών ολίγων, δε είσελθών είς την 230

gathered a great multitude of prisoners, and pillaged 5% a.c. their camp which was stored with goods of many sorts. Tissaphernes, thunderstruck at the daring of the Lacedacmonians, withdrew from the battle to Sardis, and Agesilaüs was about to attack the satraples farther inland, but led his army back to the sea when he could not obtain favourable omens from the sacrifices.

When Artaxerxes, the King of Asia, learned of the defeats, being alarmed by the war with the Greeks, he was angry at Tissaphernes, since he considered him to be responsible for the war. He had also been asked by his mother, Parysatis, to grant her revenge upon Tissaphernes, for she hated him for denouncing her son Cyrus, when he made his attack upon his brother.1 Accordingly Artaxerxes appointed Tithraustes commander with orders to arrest Tissaphernes and sent letters to the cities and the satraps that all should perform whatever he commanded. Tithraustes, on arriving at Colossae in Phrygia, with the aid of Ariaeus, a satrap, arrested Tissaphernes while he was in the bath, cut off his head, and sent it to the King. Then he persuaded Agesilaüs to enter into negotiations and concluded with him a truce of six months.

81. While affairs in Asia were handled as we have described, the Phocians went to war with the Boeotians because of certain grievances and persuaded the Lacedaemonians to join them against the Boeotians. At first they sent Lysander to them with a few

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. chaps. 19 ff.

de after όπως deleted by Dindorf.
 'Aριαίου Palmer: Λαρισσαίου.

Φωκίδα συνήγαγε δύναμιν μετά δε ταῦτα καὶ Παυσανίας ὁ βασιλεὺς εξεπέμφθη μετὰ στρατιω2 τῶν εξακισχιλίων. Βοιωτοὶ δε πείσαντες 'Αθηναίους συνεπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, τότε μεν καθ' αὐτοὺς ῶρμησαν καὶ κατέλαβον 'Αλίαρτον ὑπὸ Λυσάνδρου καὶ Φωκέων πολιορκουμένην. γενομένης δε μάχης ὅ τε Λύσανδρος ἔπεσε καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων πολλοί, τῶν δε Βοιωτῶν ἡ μεν ὅλη φάλαγξ ταχέως ἐπέστρεψεν ἀπὸ τοῦ διωγμοῦ, τῶν δε Θηβαίων ὡς διακόσιοι προχειρότερον εἰς τόπους τραχεῖς ἐαυτοὺς δόντες 3 ἀνηρέθησαν. ὁ μεν οῦν πόλεμος οῦτος ἐκλήθη Βοιωτικός, Παυσανίας δε ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων

Βοιωτικός, Παυσανίας δε δ των Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς πυθόμενος την ήτταν άνοχας εποιήσατο πρός Βοιωτούς και την δύναμιν απήγαγε πρός

Πελοπόννησον.

Κόνων δ' ὁ τῶν Περσῶν ναύαρχος ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ στόλου κατέστησεν Ἱερώνυμον καὶ Νικόδημον 'Αθηναίους ὄντας, αὐτὸς δὲ σπεύδων ἐντυχεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ παρέπλευσεν εἰς Κιλικίαν, κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Θάψακον τῆς Συρίας πορευθεὶς ἀνὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην τῶ βασιλεῖ καταναυμαχήσειν ἐπηγγείλατο τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἄν αὐτῷ χρήματα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευὴν ἔτοιμάση κατὰ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ προαίρεσιν.

6 δ δ' Αρταξέρξης ἐπαινέσας αὐτὸν και δωρεαῖς μεγάλαις τιμήσας, συνέστησε ταμίαν τὸν χορηγήσοντα χρημάτων πλῆθος ὅσον αν προστάττη Κόνων, καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ λαβεῖν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον συνηγησόμενον ὃν αν προαιρῆται Περσῶν. Κόνων μὲν οὖν Φαρνάβαζον ἐλόμενος τὸν σατράπην

2 ded | sard Hertlein.

soldiers, who, on entering Phocis, gathered an army; 200 a.c. but later the king, Pausanias, was dispatched there with six thousand soldiers. The Boeotians persuaded the Athenians to take part with them in the war, but at the time they took the field alone and found Haliartus under siege by Lysander and the Phoeians. In the battle which followed Lysander fell together with many Lacedaemonians and their allies. The entire body of other Boeotians speedily turned back from the pursuit, but some two hundred Thebans advanced rather rashly into rugged terrain and were slain. This was called the Boeotian War. Pausanias, the king of the Lacedaemonians, on learning of the defeat, concluded a truce with the Boeotians and led his army back to the Peloponnesus.

Conon, the admiral of the Persians, put the Athenians Hieronymus and Nicodemus in charge of the fleet and himself set forth with intent to interview the King. He sailed along the coast of Cilicia, and when he had gone on to Thapsacus in Syria, he then took boat by the Euphrates river to Babylon. Here he met the King and promised that he would destroy the Lacedaemonians' naval power if the King would furnish him with such money and other supplies as his plan required. Artaxerxes approved Conon, honoured him with rich gifts, and appointed a paymaster who should supply funds in abundance as Conon might assign them. He also gave him authority to take as his associate leader for the war any Persian he might choose. Conon selected the satrap

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In order to recover the body of Lysander (Plutarch, Lysander, 29).

κατέβαινεν είς την θάλατταν, απαντα διωκηκώς

κατά την έαυτου διάνοιαν.

82. Τοῦ δ' ἔτους τούτου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μέν την άρχην έλαβε Διόφαντος, εν 'Ρώμη δ' αντί των υπάτων έξ χιλίαρχοι την υπατικήν αρχήν διώκουν, Λεύκιος Οὐαλέριος, Μάρκος Φούριος. Κόιντος Σερουίλιος, Κόιντος Σουλπίκιος. τούτων δέ την αρχήν παρειληφότων Βοιωτοί και 'Αθηναίοι. πρός δέ τούτοις Κορίνθιοι καὶ Αργείοι, συμμαχίαν 2 προς άλληλους εποιήσαντο. μισουμένων γάρ των Λακεδαιμονίων ύπο των συμμάχων διά το βάρος της επιστασίας, ωοντο ραδίως καταλύσειν αὐτων την ηγεμονίαν, τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις συμφρονούσας έχοντες. και πρώτον μέν συνέδριον κοινόν έν τη Κορίνθω συστησάμενοι τους βουλευσομένους επεμπον και κοινώς διώκουν τα κατά τον πόλεμον, μετά δέ ταύτα πρέσβεις είς τὰς πόλεις ἀποστέλλοντες πολλούς συμμάγους από Λακεδαιμονίων απέστησαν. 3 εὐθὺ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἢ τε Εὕβοια ἄπασα προσέθετο καὶ Λευκάδιοι, πρός δὲ τούτοις 'Ακαρνανές τε καὶ Αμβρακιώται και Χαλκιδείς οι πρός τη Θράκη.

4 επεβάλουτο δε και τους εν Πελοποννήσω κατοικούντας πείθειν αποστήναι Λακεδαιμονίων, ούδεις δ' αὐτοῖς ὑπήκουσεν ή γὰρ Σπάρτη κατὰ τὰ πλευρά κειμένη καθαπερεί τις ακρόπολις ήν καί φρουρά πάσης Πελοποννήσου.

5 Μηδίου δε του της Λαρίσσης της εν Θετταλία δυναστεύοντος διαπολεμούντος πρός Λυκόφρονα τόν Φερών τύραννον, καὶ δεομένου πέμψαι βοήθειαν,

So Reiske i δύναμιν. 2 So Dindorf : dwiordoews. 3 So Wesseling : Bouloudrous.

Pharnabazus and then returned to the sea, having mone.

arranged everything to suit his purpose.

82. At the close of this year, in Athens Diophantus 395 a.c. entered upon the archonship, and in Rome, in place of consuls, the consular magistracy was exercised by six military tribunes, Lucius Valerius, Marcus Furius, Quintus Servilius, and Quintus Sulpicius.1 After these men had assumed their magistracies the Bocotians and Athenians, together with the Corinthians and the Argives, concluded an alliance with each other. It was their thought that, since the Lacedaemonians were hated by their allies because of their harsh rule, it would be an easy matter to overthrow their supremacy, given that the strongest states were of one mind. First of all, they set up a common Council in Corinth to which they sent representatives to form plans, and worked out in common the arrangements for the war. Then they dispatched ambassadors to the cities and caused many allies of the Lacedaemonians to withdraw from them: for at once all of Euboea and the Leucadians joined them, as well as the Acarnanians, Ambraciots, and the Chalcidians of Thrace. They also attempted to persuade the inhabitants of the Peloponnesus to revolt from the Lacedaemonians, but no one listened to them; for Sparta, lying as it does along the side of it, was a kind of citadel and fortress of the entire Peloponnesus.

Medius, the lord of Larissa in Thessaly, was at war with Lycophron, the tyrant of Pherae, and when he asked for aid to be sent him, the Council dispatched

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Livy (5. 14. 5) adds M. Valerius and L. Furius.

<sup>\*</sup> κατά τὰ ωλευρά Dindorf, Bekker, κατάπλευρ P, κατά πλευρόν Vogel.

απέστειλεν αύτω το συνέδριον στρατιώτας δισγι-6 λίους ο δε Μήδιος της συμμαχίας αὐτῷ παραγενομένης Φάρσαλον είλεν ύπο Λακεδαιμονίων φρουρουμένην και τούς έν αὐτή κατοικούντας έλαφυρυπώλησεν. μετά δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ Βοιωτοὶ μετ' 'Αργείων 'Ηράκλειαν την έν Τραχίνι κατελάβοντο, χωρισθέντες από Μηδίου και νυκτός έντος των τειχών ύπό τινων είσαχθέντες Λακεδαιμονίους μέν τους καταληφθέντας απέσφαξαν, τους δ' από Πε-7 λοποννήσου τὰ σφῶν ἔχοντας εἴασαν ἀπελθεῖν. εἰς δέ την πόλιν τους Τραχινίους φεύγοντας έκ των πατρίδων ύπο Λακεδαιμονίων μεταπεμπόμενοι, τούτοις έδωκαν την πόλιν οἰκείν, οἱ καὶ παλαιότατοι της γώρας ταύτης ήσαν οἰκήτορες. μετά δε ταῦθ' ό των Βοιωτων άφηγούμενος Ίσμηνίας τους μέν 'Αργείους εν τη πόλει κατέλιπε φυλακής ενεκα, αύτος δε πείσας αποστήναι από Λακεδαιμονίων Αἰνιανας καὶ 'Αθαμάνας ήθροισε παρά τε τούτων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων στρατιώτας τοὺς πάντας δ' έγων μικρον απολείποντας των έξακισχιλίων έστράβ τευσεν είς Φωκείς. καταστρατοπεδεύοντος δ' αὐτου είς Νάρυκα της Λοκρίδος, εξ ής φασι τον Αΐαντα γεγενήσθαι, τὸ πλήθος των Φωκέων ἀπήντησε μετά των οπλων, την ήγεμονίαν έχοντος ο 'Αλκισθένους του Λάκωνος. γενομένης δε μάχης έπι πολύν χρόνον ισχυράς εκράτησαν οι Βοιωτοί, και μέχρι νυκτός διώξαντες τους φεύγοντας άνείλον ού πολύ λείποντας των χιλίων, των δ' ιδίων απέβα-10 λον εν τῆ μάχη περί πεντακοσίους. μετὰ δὲ τὴν παράταξιν αμφότεροι μέν διέλυσαν το στρατόto him two thousand soldiers. After the troops we me. had arrived Medius seized Pharsalus, in which there was a garrison of Lacedaemonians, and sold the inhabitants as booty. After this the Boeotians and Argives, parting company with Medius, seized Heracleia in Trachis; and on being admitted at night within the walls by certain persons, they put to the sword the Lacedaemonians whom they seized but allowed the other Peloponnesians to leave with their possessions. They then summoned to the city the Trachinians whom the Lacedgemonians had banished from their homes,1 and gave them the city as their dwelling place; and indeed they were the most ancient settlers of this territory. After this Ismenias. the leader of the Bocotians, left the Argives in the city to serve as its garrison and himself persuaded the Achianians and the Athamanians to revolt from the Lacedaemonians and gathered soldiers from among them and their allies. After he had recruited a little less than six thousand men, he took the field against the Phocians. While he was taking up quarters in Naryx in Locris, which men say was the birthplace of Ajax, the people of the Phocians came against him in arms under the command of Aleisthenes the Laconian. A sharp and protracted battle followed, in which the Boeotians were the victors. Pursuing the fugitives until nightfall, they slew not many less than a thousand, but lost of their own troops in the battle about five hundred. After the pitched battle both sides dismissed their armies to

<sup>1</sup> See chap. 38. 4-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> άμφότεροι μὲν διέλυσαν τ. σ. εἰς Vogel: ἀμφότεροι διαλύσαντες τ. σ. οἱ μὲν εἰς.

πεδον' εἰς τὰς ίδίας πατρίδας οἱ δ' εἰς Κόρινθον τὸ συνέδριον ἀγαγόντες, ἐπεὶ κατὰ νοῦν αὐτοῖς προεχώρει τὰ πράγματα, συνήγαγον ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν πόλεων στρατιώτας εἰς Κόρινθον, πεζοὺς μὲν πλείους μυρίων πεντακισχιλίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ περὶ πεντακοσίους.

83. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' όρωντες τὰς μεγίστας τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πόλεων ἐφ' ἐαυτοὺς συνισταμένας, ἐψηφίσαντο τόν τε Αγησίλαον ἐκ τῆς Ασίας μεταπέμψασθαι καὶ τὴν μετ' αὐτοῦ δύναμιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐν τοσούτω παρά τε σφῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἀθροίσαντες πεζοὺς μὲν δισμυρίους τρισχιλίους, ἰππεῖς δὲ πεντακοσίους, ἀπήντησαν τοῖς πολεμίοις. γενομένης δὲ παρατάξεως παρὰ τὸν Νεμέαν ποταμὸν μέχρι νυκτός, ἐκατέρων προετέρησε τὰ μέρη τοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ τῶν μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἔπεσον έκατὸν πρὸς τοῖς χιλίοις, Βοιωτῶν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων

συμμάχων περί δισχιλίους οκτακοσίους.

3 Αγησίλαος δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς 'Ασίας διαβιβάσας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Θρακῶν
τινων ἀπαντησάντων αὐτῷ πολλῆ στρατιᾶ,' μάχη
τε ἐνίκησε καὶ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν βαρβάρων
ἀνεῖλε· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διὰ Μακεδονίας τὴν πορείαν
ἐποιεῖτο, τὴν αὐτὴν διεξιὼν χώραν ἢν καὶ Ξέρξης
ἐπορεύθη, καθ' δν καιρὸν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς
καὶ Θετταλίας πορευθείς, ὡς διῆλθε τὰ περὶ Θερμο-

πύλας στενά, . . . την πορείαν εποιείτο.

Κόνων δὲ ὁ Αθηναΐος καὶ Φαρνάβαζος ἀφηγοῦντο

So Rhodoman: συνέδριον.
<sup>2</sup> πολλή στρατιά Vogel, πολλής στρατιάς PA, μετά πολλής στρατιάς εεί.

their native lands, and the members of the Council 255 ac. in Corinth, since affairs were progressing as they desired, gathered to Corinth soldiers from all the cities, more than fifteen thousand infantry and about

five hundred cavalry.

88. When the Lacedaemonians saw that the greatest cities of Greece were uniting against them, they voted to summon Agesilaüs and his army from Asia. In the meantime they gathered from their own levy and their allies twenty-three thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry and advanced to meet the enemy. The battle took place along the river Nemea, lasting until nightfall, and parts of both armies had the advantage, but of the Lacedaemonians and their allies cleven hundred men fell, while of the Boeotians and their allies about twentyeight hundred.

After Agesilaüs had conveyed his army across from Asia to Europe, at first he was opposed by certain Thracians 2 with a large force; these he defeated in battle, slaying the larger number of the barbarians. Then he made his way through Maccdonia, passing through the same country as Xerxes did when he made his campaign against the Greeks. When Agesilaüs had traversed Macedonia and Thessalv and made his way through the pass of Thermopylae.

he continued. . . .

Conon the Athenian and Pharnabazus were in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The river formed the boundary between Sicyonia and Corinthia (Strabo, 8. 6. 25).

The Trallians (Plutarch, Agesilaus, 16, 1).
The Greek is defective; "through Phocis," "at top speed," and other suggestions have been made.

arená Raiske : ovenýv.

μέν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στόλου, διέτριβον δὲ περὶ Λώρυμα τής Χερρονήσου, τριήρεις έχοντες πλείους 5 των ενενήκοντα. πυθόμενοι δε εν Κνίδω το ναυτικόν των πολεμίων είναι, τὰ πρός την ναυμαγίαν παρεσκευάζοντο. Πείσανδρος δ' ό τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ναύαρχος εξέπλευσεν έκ της Κνίδου τριήρεσιν δυδοήκουτα πέντε και κατηνέχθη πρός Φύσκου τής 6 Χερρονήσου. ἐκείθεν δ' ἐκπλεύσας περιέπεσε τω στόλω του βασιλέως, και ταις μεν προπλεούσαις1 ναυσί συμβαλών προετέρει, των δε Περσων αμα ταις τριήρεσιν άθρόαις παραβοηθησάντων, επειδή πάντες οι σύμμαχοι πρός την γην έφυγον, την ιδίαν ναθν επέστρεψεν, αισχρόν είναι νομίσας και της η Σπάρτης ανάξιον το φυγείν αγεννώς. αγωνισάμενος δὲ λαμπρῶς καὶ πολλούς τῶν πολεμίων ἀνελών, το τελευταίον άξίως της πατρίδος άνηρέθη μαχόμενος, οί δὲ περί τὸν Κόνωνα μέχρι τῆς γῆς καταδιώξαντες τους Λακεδαιμονίους πεντήκοντα μέν τριήρων έκυρίευσαν, των δ' ανδρών οι πλείστοι μεν εκκολυμβήσαντες κατά γην έφυγον, εάλωσαν δέ περί πεντακοσίους αί δε λοιπαί τριήρεις είς Κνίδον διεσώθησαν.

84. 'Αγησίλαος δὲ προσλαβόμενος ἐκ Πελοποννήσου στρατιώτας, ἐπειδὴ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπἐβαινεν εἰς Βοιωτίαν, εὐθὺς οἱ Βοιωτοὶ μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπήντησαν εἰς Κορώνειαν. γενομένης δὲ παρατάξεως Θηβαῖοι μὲν τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς μέρος τρεψάμενοι μέχρι τῆς παρεμβολῆς κατεδίωξαν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι μικρὸν ἀντισχόντες χρόνον ὑπ' 'Αγησιλάου 2 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φυγεῖν ἡναγκάσθησαν. διὸ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> So Relske: προσπλεούσαις.

\* So Stephanus: Περσικών.

command of the King's fleet 1 and were tarrying in 200 a.c. Loryma of the Chersonesus ! with more than ninety triremes. When they learned that the enemy's naval forces were at Cnidus, they made preparations for battle. Peisander, the Lacedaemonian admiral, set out from Cnidus with eighty-five triremes and put in at Physeus of the Chersonesus. On sailing from there he fell in with the King's fleet, and engaging the leading ships, he won the advantage over them; but when the Persians a came to give aid with their triremes in close formation, all his allies fled to the land. But Peisander turned his own ship against them, believing ignoble flight to be disgraceful and unworthy of Sparta. After fighting brilliantly and slaving many of the enemy, in the end he was overcome, battling in a manner worthy of his native land. Conon pursued the Lacedaemonians as far as the land and captured fifty of their triremes. As for the crews, most of them leaped overboard and escaped by land, but about five hundred were captured. The rest of the triremes found safety at Cnidus.

84. Agesilaüs enlisted more soldiers from the Peloponnesus and then advanced with his army against Boeotia, whereupon the Boeotians, together with their allies, at once set out to Coroneia to meet him. In the battle which followed the Thebans defeated the forces opposed to them and pursued them as far as their camp, but the others held out only a short time and then were forced by Agesilaüs and his troops to take to flight. Therefore the Lacedae-

<sup>1</sup> Cp. chap. 81. 4 f.

At the south-west tip of Asia Minor.

The part of the fleet under the command of Pharnabasus (Xenophon, Hell. 4, 3, 11).

νενικηκέναι τῆ μάχη Λακεδαιμόνιοι διαλαβόντες ἔστησαν τρόπαιον καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδωκαν. ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν Βοιωτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων πλείους τῶν έξακοσίων, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ τῶν συναγωνισαμένων τριακόσιοι πεντήκοντα καὶ αὐτὸς ᾿Αγησίλαος πολλοῖς περιπεπτωκὼς τραύμασιν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐκομίσθη, κάκεῖ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ σώματος ἐποιεῖτο.

3 Φαρνάβαζος δὲ καὶ Κόνων μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἀνήχθησαν ἀπάσαις ταῖς ναυσίν ἐπὶ τοῦς τῶν Λακε-δαιμονίων συμμάχους. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν Κώους ἀπέστησαν, εἶτα Νισυρίους καὶ Τηίους. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Χῖοι τὴν φρουρὰν ἐκβαλόντες προσέθεντο τοῖς περὶ Κόνωνα παραπλησίως δὲ μετέβαλον καὶ 4 Μιτυληναῖοι καὶ Ἐφέσιοι καὶ Ἐρυθραῖοι. τοιαύτη

- δὲ τῆς μεταστάσεως σπουδή τις εἰς τὰς πόλεις ενέπεσεν, ὧν αἱ μὲν ἐκβάλλουσαι τὰς φρουρὰς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὴν ελευθερίαν διεφύλαττον, αἱ δὲ τοῖς περὶ Κόνωνα προσετίθεντο. καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχὴν ἀπέβαλον, οἱ δὲ περὶ Κόνωνα κρίναντες παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ᾿Αττικὴν ἀνέζευξαν, καὶ τὰς Κυκλάδας νήσους προσαγαγόμενοι κατ- ξέπλευσαν ἐπὶ Κύθηρα τὴν νῆσον. εὐθὶ δὲ ταύτης ἐξ ἐφόδου κυριεύσαντες τοὺς μὲν Κυθηρίους ὑπο-
- επλευσών επό Γευσημά την νησού. Ευσύ σε ταυτης έξ έφόδου κυριεύσαντες τούς μέν Κυθηρίους ύποσπόνδους εξέπεμψαν είς την Λακωνικήν, αὐτοί δε καταλιπόντες της πόλεως την ίκανην φρουράν ἔπλεον ἐπὶ Κορίνθου. ἐκεῖ δε καταπλεύσαντες τοῖς συνέδροις διελέχθησαν ὑπὲρ ὧν ήθελον, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf : Towner.

<sup>\*</sup> τοιαύτη δέ τής μεταστάσεως σπαιδή Reiske : τοιαύτης δέ τής καταστάσεως ούσης σπουδή. \* So Dindorf : Κορινθίους.

## BOOK XIV. 64. 2-5

monians, looking upon themselves as conquerors, set \$3 s.c. up a trophy and gave back the dead to the enemy under a truce. There fell of the Bocotians and their allies more than six hundred, but of the Lacedae-monians and their associates three hundred and fifty. Agesilaüs, who had suffered many wounds, was taken to Delphi, where he looked after his

physical needs.1

After the sea-fight Pharnabazus and Conon put out to sea with all their ships against the allies of the Lacedacmonians. First of all they induced the people of Cos to secode, and then those of Nisyros and of Teos. After this the Chians expelled their garrison and joined Conon, and similarly the Mitylenaeans and Ephesians and Erythraeans changed sides. Something like the same eagerness for change infeeted all the cities, of which some expelled their Lacedaemonian garrisons and maintained their freedom, while others attached themselves to Conon. As for the Lacedaemonians, from this time they lost the sovereignty of the sea. Conon, having decided to sail with the entire fleet to Attica, put out to sea, and after bringing over to his cause the islands of the Cyclades, he sailed against the island of Cythera. Mastering it at once on the first assault, he sent the Cytherians under a truce to Laconia, left an adequate parrison for the city, and sailed for Corinth. After putting in there he discussed with the members of the Council such points as they wished, made an

<sup>1</sup> A more adequate account of the battle of Coroneia is given in Xenophon, Hell. 4. 3. 15-20; Plutarch, Agesilaüs, 18.

συμμαχίαν ποιησάμενοι τούτοις μέν χρήματα κατέλιπον, αὐτοί δ' είς την 'Ασίαν εξέπλευσαν.

6 Περί δε του αυτου χρόνου 'Αέροπος ο των Μακεδόνων βασιλεύς ετελεύτησε νόσω, βασιλεύσας έτη έξ. την δ' ηνεμονίαν διαδεξάμενος Παυσανίας υίδς 7 ποξεν ένιαυτόν. Θεόπομπος δ' ο Χίος την των Έλληνικών σύνταξιν κατέστροφεν είς τοῦτον τὸν ένιαυτον καὶ εἰς τὴν περὶ Κνίδον ναυμαχίαν, γράψας βύβλους δώδεκα. ὁ δὲ συγγραφεύς ούτος ήρκται μέν ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ Κυνὸς σῆμα ναυμαχίας, els ην Θουκυδίδης κατέληξε την πραγματείαν, έγραψε δε χρόνον ετών δεκαεπτά.

85. Επεί δε ό ενιαυσιαίος χρόνος διεληλύθει, 'Αθήνησι μεν Εύβουλίδης ήρξεν, εν 'Ρώμη δέ την υπατικήν άρχην διώκουν χιλίαρχοι έξ, Λεύκιος Σέονιος, Αύλος Ποστούμιος, Πόπλιος Κορνήλιος, 2 Κόιντος Μάνλιος. περί δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους

Κόνων του βασιλικού στόλου την ηγεμονίαν έγων. δυδοήκουτα τριήρεσι καταπλεύσας είς του Πειραιέα τοις πολίταις ύπέσχετο τον περίβολον της πόλεως ανοικοδομήσειν του γάρ Πειραιέως τα τείχη καί τὰ μακρὰ σκέλη καθήρητο κατὰ τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων συνθήκας, ότε κατεπονήθησαν έν τω Πελοπον-

3 νησιακώ πολέμω. ὁ δ' ούν Κόνων μισθωσάμενος πλήθος τεχνιτών, και τον έκ τών πληρωμάτων οχλον είς ύπηρεσίαν παραδούς, ταχέως το πλείστον μέρος του τείχους ανωκοδόμησε και γαρ Θηβαΐοι πεντακοσίους τεχνίτας και λιθοτόμους απέστειλαν, 4 καί τινες άλλαι των πόλεων παρεβοήθησαν. Τιρί-

alliance with them, left them money, and then sailed 395 a.c.

off to Asia.1

At this time Aëropus, the king of the Macedonians, died of illness after a reign of six years, and was succeeded in the sovereignty by his son Pausanias, who ruled for one year. Theopompus of Chios ended with this year and the battle of Cnidus his Hellenic History, which he wrote in twelve books. This historian began with the battle of Cynossema,\* with which Thucydides ended his work, and covered in

his account a period of seventeen years.3

85. At the conclusion of the year, in Athens 804 n.c. Eubulides was archon and in Rome the consular magistracy was administered by six military tribunes. Lucius Sergius, Aulus Postumius, Publius Cornelius, and Quintus Manlius.4 At this time Conon, who held the command of the King's fleet, put in at the Peiracus with eighty triremes and promised the citizens to rebuild the fortifications of the city; for the walls of the Peiraeus and the long walls had been destroyed in accordance with the terms the Athenians had concluded with the Lacedaemonians when they were reduced in the Peloponnesian War. Accordingly Conon hired a multitude of skilled workers, and putting at their service the general run of his crews, he speedily rebuilt the larger part of the wall. For the Thebans too sent five hundred skilled workers and masons, and some other cities also gave assistance.

These negotiations were in fact the work of Pharnabazus, who was in supreme command of the fleet (Xenophon, Hell. 1, 8, 6 ff.) and who alone could speak for the King of Persia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Book 13. 40. 5 f. and note. <sup>3</sup> 410-394 s.c. • The names differ greatly from those of Livy, 5. 16. 1.

<sup>1</sup> The added by Reiske.

βαζος δ' δ των κατά την 'Ασίαν πεζων δυνάμεων άφηγούμενος εφθόνει ταις του Κόνωνος εύπραξίαις. καὶ πρόφασιν μέν λαβών ότι ταῖς βασιλικαῖς δυνάμεσι τάς πόλεις 'Αθηναίοις κατακτάται, προαγαγόμενος δ' αὐτὸν εἰς Σάρδεις συνέλαβε καὶ δήσας είς φυλακήν κατέθετο.

86. Έν δὲ τῆ Κορίνθω τινές τῶν ἐπιθυμούντων δημοκρατίας συστραφέντες αγώνων όντων έν τω θεάτρω φόνον ἐποίησαν καὶ στάσεως ἐπλήρωσαν την πόλιν συνεπιλαβομένων δε αύτοις της τόλμης 'Αργείων, έκατον μεν και είκοσι των πολιτών άπ-2 έσφαξαν, πεντακοσίους δ' εφυγάδευσαν. Λακεδαιμονίων δέ παρασκευαζομένων κατάγειν και δύναμιν άθροιζόντων, 'Αθηναΐοι καὶ Βοιωτοί παρεβοήθουν τοις σφαγεύσιν, όπως την πόλιν εξιδιοποιήσωνται. 3 καὶ οί μεν φυγάδες μετά Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ των συμμάχων επί το Λέχαιον και τον ναύσταθμον ἐπελθόντες νυκτὸς κατὰ κράτος είλαν τῆ δ' ύστεραία των έκ της πόλεως επεξελθόντων, ων 'Ιφικράτης ήγειτο, συνέβη γενέσθαι μάχην, έν ή Λακεδαιμόνιοι νικήσαντες ούκ ολίγους απέκτειναν. 4 μετά δε ταῦτα οι τε Βοιωτοί και 'Αθηναίοι, πρός δέ τούτοις 'Αργείοι καὶ Κορίνθιοι πάση τῆ δυνάμει παρελθόντες els το Λέχαιον, το μέν πρώτον πολιορκήσαντες το χωρίον το εντός του διατειχίσματος είσεβιάζοντο μετά δε ταθτα των Λακεδαιμονίων

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> So Elchstädt : προαγόμενος. <sup>3</sup> ἐπιθυμούντων δημοκρατίας Wurm : ἐπιθυμία κρατούντων. 246

But Tiribazus, who commanded the land forces in Mare. Asia, was envious of Conon's successes, and on the plea that Conon was using the King's armaments to win the cities for the Athenians, he lured him to Sardis, where he arrested him, threw him in chains,

and remanded him to custody.

86. In Corinth certain men who favoured a democracy, banding together while contests were being held in the theatre, instituted a slaughter and filled the city with civil strife; and when the Argives gave them their support in their venture, they put to the sword one hundred and twenty of the citizens and drove five hundred into exile. While the Lacedsemonians were making preparations to restore the exiles and gathering an army, the Athenians and Bobotians came to the aid of the murderers, in order that they might secure the adhesion of the city. The exiles, together with the Lacedaemonians and their allies, attacked Lechaeum and the dock-yard by night and seized them by storm; and on the next day, when the troops of the city, which Iphicrates commanded, came out against them, a battle followed in which the Lacedacmonians were victorious and slew no small number of their opponents. After this the Boeotians and Athenians, and with them the Argives and Corinthians, came with all their forces to Lechaeum, and at the outset they laid siege to the place and forced their way into the corridor between the walls; but afterward the Lacedaemonians

1 He was aroused against Conon by the Lacedaemonians (Xenophon, Hell. 4. 8. 12 f.).

2 The harbour of Corinth on the Corinthian Gulf, connected with Corinth by long walls.

a 76 deleted by Eichstadt, Vogel.

καὶ τῶν φυγάδων λαμπρώς άγωνισαμένων εξεώσθησαν οί Βοιωτοί και οί μετ' αυτών απαντες. ούτοι μέν οδν περί χιλίους των στρατιωτών αποβαλόντες 5 είς την πόλιν άπεχώρησαν. εὐθὸ δὲ τῶν Ἰσθμίων έπελθόντων διεφέροντο περί της θέσεως τοῦ άγωνος καὶ πολλά φιλονεικησάντων εκράτησαν οί Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας ἐποίησαν θείναι 6 τον ανώνα. των δε κατά τον πόλεμον δεινών σχεδόν τι περί την Κόρινθον γενομένων ο πόλεμος ούτος εκλήθη Κορινθιακός, και διέμεινεν έτη δκτώ. 87. Κατά δέ την Σικελίαν 'Ρηγίνοι κατηγορούντες Διονυσίου ότι Μεσσήνην τειχίζων έπ' αύτούς κατασκευάζεται, πρώτον μέν τούς ύπο Διογυσίου φυγαδευομένους και τάναντία πράττοντας ύπεδέξαντο, μετά δε ταθτα των Ναξίων και Καταναίων τούς υπολειπομένους είς Μύλας κατοικίσαντες, δύναμιν παρεσκευάζοντο και στρατηγόν "Ελωριν έξ-2 έπεμψαν πολιορκήσοντα Μεσσήνην. τούτου δὲ τὴν επίθεσιν κατά την ακρόπολιν ποιησαμένου παραβόλως, οί κατέχοντες την πόλιν Μεσσήνιοι καί Διονυσίου μισθοφόροι συστραφέντες απήντησαν. γενομένης δε μάχης ενίκων οι Μεσσήνιοι καί 8 πλείους των πεντακοσίων απέκτειναν. εὐθύ δ' ἐπὶ τας Μύλας επελθόντες είλον την πόλιν, και τούς οίκισθέντας έν αὐτῆ Ναξίους ὑποσπόνδους ἀφηκαν. ούτοι μέν ούν είς τε Σικελούς και τας Έλληνίδας πόλεις απελθόντες άλλοι κατ' άλλους τόπους κατ-4 ώκησαν ό δε Διονύσιος, των περί τον πορθμόν αὐτῷ τόπων κατεσκευασμένων φιλίων, διεναεῖτο

1 So Eichstädt: αὐτοί.

\* τὰς ἄλλας after καὶ deleted by Wurm.

\* τὰν added by Reiske,

#### BOOK XIV. 85. 4-87. 4

and the exiles put up a brilliant fight and forced out 194 R.C. the Bocotians and all who were with them. They then, having lost about a thousand soldiers, returned to the city. And since the Isthmian Games were now at hand, there was a quarrel over who should conduct them. After much contention the Lacedaemonians had their way and saw to it that the exiles conducted the festival. Since the severe fighting in the war took place for the most part about Corinth. it was called the Corinthian War, and it continued

for eight years.

87.1 In Sicily the people of Rhegium, bringing the charge against Dionysius that in fortifying Messent he was making preparations against them, first of all offered asylum to those who were expelled by Dionysius and were active against him, and then settled in Mylac the surviving Naxians and Catanians, prepared an army, and dispatched as its general Heloris 2 to lay siege to Messene. When Heloris made a reckless attack upon the acropolis, the Messenians and the mercenaries of Dionysius, who were holding the city, closed ranks and advanced against him. In the battle that followed the Messenians were victorious and slew more than five hundred of their opponents. Marching straightway against Mylae, they seized the city and let the Naxians who had been settled there go free under a truce. These, accordingly, departed to the Siceli and the Greek cities and made their dwelling some in one place and others in another. Dionysius, now that the regions about the Straits had been brought to friendly terms with him, planned

<sup>1</sup> The narrative is resumed from chapter 78.

Heloris had been exiled from Syracuse by Dionysius (chap. 103, 5; cp. chap. 8, 8).

μεν επί 'Ρήγιον στρατιάν άγειν, παρηνωχλείτο δ' ύπο των το Ταυρομένιον κατειληφότων Σικελών. 5 διόπερ κρίνας συμφέρειν τούτοις επιθέσθαι πρώτοις, εξήγαγεν επ' αὐτοὺς τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ στρατοπεδεύσας εκ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν Νάξον μέρους προσεκαρτέρει τῆ πολιορκία τὸν χειμώνα, νομίζων τοὺς Σικελοὺς εκλείψειν τὸν λόφον διὰ τὸ μὴ πάλαι

κατωκηκέναι.

88. Οί δὲ Σικελοί παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἐκ παλαιοῦ παρειληφότες ότι τὰ μέρη ταῦτα τῆς νήσου Σικελών κατεχόντων Ελληνες πρώτως καταπλεύσαντες έκτισαν μεν Νάξον, εξέβαλον δ' έκ τούτου του λόφου τους τότε κατυικούντας Σικελούς. διο δή φάσκοντες πατρώαν άνακτήσασθαι χώραν καὶ περί ών είς τους έαυτών προγόνους έξήμαρτον "Ελληνες άμύνασθαι δικαίως, εφιλοτιμούντο κατασχείν τον 2 λόφον. ὑπερβαλλούσης δὲ φιλονεικίας παρ ἀμφοτέροις ούσης, έτυχον μέν ούσαι τροπαί χειμεριναί, καί διά τους επιγινομένους χειμώνας ο περί την ακρόπολιν τόπος πλήρης ήν χιόνος. Ενταύθα δή Διονύσιος τους Σικελούς διά την οχυρότητα καί την ύπερβολην τοῦ τείχους ραθυμούντας περί την κατά την ακρόπολιν φυλακήν εύρων, ώρμησε νυκτός ασελήνου και χειμερίου πρός τους ανωτάτω 3 τόπους. πολλά δέ κακοπαθήσας διά τε την των κρημνών δυσχέρειαν και το πλήθος τής χιόνος, μιάς μεν άκροπόλεως έκυρίευσε, και το πρόσωπον έξήλκωσε καὶ τὰς όψεις έβλαψε διὰ τὸ ψύχος μετά δε ταύτα είς το έτερον μέρος παρεισπεσών είσηγαγε την δύναμιν είς την πόλιν. των δε Σικελών αθρόων βοηθησάντων έξεώσθησαν οι μετά τοῦ

## BOOK XIV. 87, 4-88, 3

to lead an army against Rhegium, but he had trouble me nowith the Sieeli who held Tauromenium. Deciding, therefore, that it would be to his advantage to attack them first, he led out his forces against them, pitched a camp on the side toward Naxos, and persisted in the siege during the winter, in the belief that the Sieeli would desert the hill since they had not been

dwelling there long.

88. The Siceli, however, had an ancient tradition, handed down from their ancestors, that these parts of the island had been the possession of the Sieeli, when Greeks first landed there and founded Naxos. expelling from that very hill the Siccli who were then dwelling on it. Maintaining, therefore, that they had only recovered territory that belonged to their fathers and were justly righting the wrongs which the Greeks had committed against their ancestors. they put forth every effort to hold the hill. While extraordinary rivalry was being displayed on both sides, the winter solstice occurred, and because of the consequent winter storms the area about the aeropolis was filled with snow. Thereupon Dionysius, who had discovered that the Siceli were careless in their guard of the aeropolis because of its strength and the unusual height of the wall, advanced on a moonless and stormy night against the loftiest sectors. After many difficulties both because of the obstacles offered by the crags and because of the great depth of the snow he occupied one peak, although his face was frosted and his vision impaired by the cold. After this he broke through to the other side and led his army into the city. But when the Siceli came up in a body, the troops of Dionysius were thrust out and

Διονυσίου, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῆ φυγῆ τυπτόμενος εἰς τὸν θώρακα περιεκυλίσθη, καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον συν- 
ελήφθη ζῶν. τῶν δὲ Σικελῶν ἐπικειμένων ἐξ ὑπερ- 
δεξίων τόπων, ἀνηρέθησαν μὲν τῶν μετὰ Διονυσίου 
πλείους τῶν ἐξακοσίων, ἀπέβαλον δὲ τὰς πανοπλίας 
οἱ πλεῖοτοι· καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Διονύσιος μόνον τὸν 
δ θώρακα διέσωσεν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀτυχίαν ταύτην 
'Ακραγαντῖνοι καὶ Μεσσήνιοι τοὺς τὰ Διονυσίου 
φρονοῦντας μεταστησάμενοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀντ- 
ειχοντο καὶ τῆς τοῦ τυράννου συμμαχίας ἀπέστη-

89. Παυσανίας δὲ ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς εἰγκαλούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἔφυγεν, ἄρξας ἔτη δεκατέτταρα· τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν διαδεξάμενος ὁ υἰὸς ᾿Αγησίπολις ἡρξε τὸν ἴσον τῷ πατρὶ χρόνον.
ἐτελεύτησε δὲ καὶ Παυσανίας ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεύς, ἀναιρεθεὶς ὑπὸ ᾿Αμύντου δόλῳ, ἄρξας ἐνιαυτόν· τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν κατέσχεν ᾿Αμύντας, καὶ

δρέεν έτη είκοσι τέσσαρα.

90. Τοῦ δὲ ἔτους τούτου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μὲν παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν Δημόστρατος, ἐν 'Ρώμη δὲ τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἀρχὴν διώκουν χιλίαρχοι ἔξ, Λεύ-2 κιος Τιτίνιος, Πόπλιος Λικίνιος, Πόπλιος Μελαΐος, Κόιντος Μάλλιος, Γναΐος Γενύκιος, Λεύκιος 'Ατίλιος. τούτων δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρειληφότων Μάγων ὁ τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατηγὸς διέτριβε μὲν ἐν Σικελία, τὰ δὲ πράγματα τῶν Καρχηδονίων 3 ἀπὸ τῆς γεγενημένης συμφορᾶς ἀνελάμβανε· ταῖς τε γὰρ ὑποτεταγμέναις πόλεσι φιλανθρώπως προσεφέρετο καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ Διονυσίου πολεμουμένους ὑπεδέχετο. ἐποιήσατο δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πλείστους τῶν Σικελῶν συμμαχίας, καὶ δυνάμεις ἀθροίσας 252

Dionysius himself was struck on the corslet in the succe. flight, sent scrambling, and barely escaped being taken alive. Since the Siceli pressed upon them from superior ground, more than six hundred of Dionysius' troops were slain and most of them lost their complete armour, while Dionysius himself saved only his corslet. After this disaster the Acragantini and Messenians banished the partisans of Dionysius, asserted their freedom, and renounced their alliance with the tyrant.

89. Pausanias, the king of the Lacedaemonians, was accused by his fellow citizens and went into exile after a reign of fourteen years, and his son Agestpolia succeeded to the kingship and reigned for the same length of time as his father. Pausanias too, the king of the Macedonians, died after a reign of one year, being assassinated by Amyntas, who seized the king-

ship and reigned twenty-four years.

90. At the conclusion of this year, in Athens 200 and Demostratus took over the archonship, and in Rome the consular magistracy was administered by six military tribunes, Lucius Titinius, Publius Licinius, Publius Melaeus, Quintus Mullius, Gnaeus Genycius, and Lucius Atilius. After these magistrates had entered office, Magon, the Carthaginian general, was stationed in Sicily. He set about retrieving the Carthaginian cause after the disaster they had suffered, for he showed kindness to the subject cities and received the victims of Dionysius' wars. He also formed alliances with most of the Siceli and, after gathering armaments, launched an attack upon the

έστράτευσεν είς την Μεσσηνίαν. λεηλατήσας δέ την χώραν και πολλής ωφελείας εγκρατής γενόμενος ανέξευξε και προς 'Αβακαίνη πόλει συμμαχίδι 4 καπεστρατοπέδευσεν. Διονυσίου δε επελθάντος μετά τής δυνάμεως παρετάχθησαν, και γενομένης καρτεράς μάχης ενίκησαν οι περί Διονύσιον. καί οί μεν Καρχηδόνιοι πλείους δκτακοσίων αποβαλόντες έφυγον είς την πόλιν, Διονύσιος δε τότε μέν είς Συρακούσας ανέζευξε, μετά δέ τινας ήμερας έκατον τριήρεις πληρώσας έστράτευσεν έπι 'Ρη-5 γίνους. απροσδοκήτως δε νυκτός επιφανείς τη πόλει τας πύλας ενέπρησε και τοις τείχεσι προσήρεισε κλίμακας. οί δε 'Ρηγίνοι το μεν πρώτον ολίγοι προσβοηθήσαντες επεχείρουν σβεννύναι την φλόγα, μετά δε ταθτα Ελώριδος του στρατηγού παραγενομένου καὶ συμβουλεύσαντος τάναντία πράτε τειν έσωσαν την πόλιν. σβεννύντες μεν γάρ το πύρ ούκ αν ἴσχυσαν Διονύσιον κωλύσαι εἰσελθεῖν. όλίγοι παυτελώς όντες, έκ δε των έγγυς οίκιων ένέγκαντες φρύγανα καὶ ξύλα τὴν φλόγα κατεσκεύαζον μείζονα, μέχρι ότου το πλήθος έν τοις 7 οπλοις άθροισθεν παρεβοήθησεν. Διονύσιος δε της έπιβολής αποτυχών επήλθε την χώραν εμπυρίζων καὶ δενδροτομών, καὶ μετά ταῦτ' ἐνιαυσίους'

σών.
91. Οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἱταλίαν κατοικοῦντες Ἑλληνες ἐώρων μὲν μέχρι τῆς ἐαυτῶν χώρας προβαίνουσαν τὴν Διονυσίου πλεονεξίαν, συμμαχίαν δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐποιήσαντο καὶ συνέδοιον ἐνκατστικοίος.

άνοχάς ποιησάμενος εξέπλευσεν έπι Συρακου-

λήλους εποιήσαντο καὶ συνέδριον εγκατεσκεύαζον. ήλπιζον γὰρ τὸν Διονύσιον ραδίως άμυνεῖσθαι καὶ

<sup>1</sup> duavolous PL, duavoraious cet.

territory of Messene. After ravaging the countryside 383 a.a. and seizing much booty he marched from that place and went into camp near the city of Abacaene, which was his ally. When Dionysius came up with his army, the forces drew up for battle, and after a sharp engagement Dionysius was the victor. The Carthaginians fled into the city after a loss of more than eight hundred men, while Dionysius withdrew for the time being to Syracuse; but after a few days he manned one hundred triremes and set out against the Rhegians. Arriving unexpectedly by night before the city, he put fire to the gates and set ladders against the walls. The Rhegians, coming up in defence as they did at first in small numbers, endeavoured to put out the flames, but later, when their general Heloris arrived and advised them to do just the opposite, they saved the city. For if they had put out the fire, they would not have been strong enough to prevent Dionysius from entering, being far too small a number; but by bringing firewood and timbers from the neighbouring houses they made the flames higher, until the main body of their troops could assemble in arms and come to the defence. Dionysius, who had failed of his design, traversed the countryside, wasting it in flames and cutting down orehards, and then concluded a truce for a year and sailed off to Syracuse.

91. The Greek inhabitants of Italy, when they saw the encroachments of Dionysius advancing as far as their own lands, formed an alliance among themselves and established a Council. It was their hope to defend themselves with ease against Dionysius

τοις παροικούσι Λευκανών αντιτάξεσθαι και γαρ

οδτοι τότε διεπολέμουν πρός αὐτούς.

2 Οἱ δὰ τὸ Λέχαιον τῆς Κορινθίας κατέχοντες φυγάδες νυκτὸς ὑπό τινων εἰσαχθέντες ἐνεχείρησαν μὲν καταλαμβάνειν τὰ τείχη, τῶν δὲ μετ' Ἰφικράτους ἐκβοηθησάντων τριακοσίους ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποβαλόντες ἔφυγον ἐπὶ τὸν ναύσταθμον. μετὰ δέ τινας ἡμέρας τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς διήει διὰ τῆς Κορινθίας χώρας, οἰς Ἰφικράτης καί τινες τῶν ἐν Κορίνθω συμμάχων ἐπιπεσόντες

3 τούς πλείστους ἀνείλον. 'Ιφικράτης δὲ μετὰ τῶν πελταστῶν ἐπὶ Φλιασίαν στρατεύσας, καὶ μάχην τοῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως συνάψας, τούτων μὲν πλείους τριακοσίων ἀπέκτεινε μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ Σικυῶνα αὐτοῦ πορευθέντος, οἱ Σικυώνιοι παραταξάμενοι πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἀπέβαλον περὶ πεντακοσίους καὶ συνέφυγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

92. Τούτων δε πραχθέντων Αργείοι μετά των

οπλων πανδημεί στρατεύσαντες είς Κόρινθον τήν τ' ἀκρόπολιν κατελάβοντο καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐξιδιοποιησάμενοι τὴν Κορινθίων χώραν 'Αργείαν ἐποίη2 σαν. ἐπεβάλετο δὲ καὶ 'Ιφικράτης ὁ 'Αθηναῖος καταλαβέσθαι τὴν πόλιν,' ἐπιτήδειον οὖσαν είς τὴν τῆς Έλλάδος ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ δὲ δήμου κωλύσαντος οῦτος μὲν ἀπέθετο τὴν ἀρχήν, οἱ δ' 'Αθηναῖοι Χαβρίαν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ στρατηγόν εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον ἐξέπεμψαν.

3 Κατά δε τήν Μακεδονίαν 'Αμύντας ο Φιλίππου πατήρ 'Ιλλυριών εμβαλόντων είς Μακεδονίαν εξέπιπτεν εκ τής χώρας' ἀπογνούς δε τήν ἀρχήν 'Ολυν-

So Dindorf: χώραν.
χώρας Dindorf: πόλεως.

and to resist the neighbouring Leucani; for these 393 n.c.

last were also at war with them at this time.

The exiles who held Lechaeum in Corinthian territory, being admitted into the city 1 in the night, endeavoured to get possession of the walls, but when the troops of Iphicrates came up against them, they lost three hundred of their number and fled back to the ship station. Some days later a contingent of the Lacedaemonian army was passing through Corinthian territory, when Iphicrates and some of the allies in Corinth fell on them and slew the larger Iphicrates with his peltasts advanced against the territory of Phlius,3 and joining battle with the men of the city, he slew more than three hundred of them. Then, when he advanced against Sievon, the Sievonians offered battle before their walls but lost about five hundred men and found refuge within their city.

92. After these events had taken place, the Argives took up arms in full force and marched against Corinth, and after seizing the acropolis and securing the city for themselves, they made the Corinthian territory Argive. The Athenian Iphicrates also had the design to seize the city, since it was advantageous for the control of Greece; but when the Athenian people opposed it, he resigned his position. The Athenians appointed Chabrias general in his place

and sent him to Corinth.

In Maccdonia Amyntas, the father of Philip, was driven from his country by Illyrians who invaded Macedonia, and giving up hope for his crown, he made a present to the Olynthians of his territory

<sup>1</sup> Corintly.

Some ten miles south-west of Corinth.

βίοις μεν την σύνεγγυς χώραν εδωρήσατο, αὐτός δε τότε μεν ἀπέβαλε την βασιλείαν, μετ' όλίγον δε χρόνον ὑπὸ Θετταλῶν καταχθεὶς ἀνεκτήσατο την 4 ἀρχήν, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη εἴκοσι τέτταρα. ἔνιοι δε φασι μετὰ την ἔκπτωσιν την ᾿Αμύντου διετῆ χρόνον ᾿Αργαῖον βασιλεῦσαι τῶν Ἡακεδόνων, καὶ τότε τὸν ᾿Αμύνταν ἀνακτήσασθαι την βασιλείαν.

93. Περὶ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ Σάτυρος ὁ Σπαρτάκου μὲν υίος, βασιλεὺς δὲ Βοσπόρου, ἐτελεύτησεν, ἄρξας ἔτη τετταράκονται τὴν ἡγεμονίαν δὲ διεδέξατο ὁ υίὸς Λεύκων ἐπ' ἔτη τετταράκοντα.

2 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ῥωμαῖοι πολιορκοῦντες ἐνδέκατον ἔτος Βηίους κατέστησαν αὐτοκράτορα μὲν Μάρκον Φούριον, ἔππαρχον δὲ Πόπλιον Κορνήλιον. οῦτοι δὲ ἀναλαβόντες τὰς δυνάμεις Βηίους ἔξεπολιόρκησαν διώρυγα κατασκευάσαντες, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔξανδραποδισάμενοι τούς τε ἄνδρας καὶ τὴν 3 ἄλλην λείαν ἐλαφυροπώλησαν. ὁ μὲν οῦν αὐτο-

αλλην λειαν ελαφυροπωλησαν. ο μεν ουν αυτοκράτωρ θρίαμβον ήγαγεν, ό δὲ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων δῆμος ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων δεκάτην ἐξελόμενος χρυσοῦν κατεσκεύασε κρατῆρα καὶ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθηκεν.

4 οί δὲ κομίζοντες αὐτὸν πρεσβευταὶ λησταῖς Λιπαραίοις περιέπεσον, καὶ πάντες αἰχμαλωτισθέντες 
κατήχθησαν εἰς Λιπάραν. Τιμασίθεος δ' ὁ τῶν 
Λιπαραίων στρατηγὸς γνοὺς τὸ γεγενημένον, τούς 
τε πρεσβευτὰς ἀνέσωσε καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ἀποδοὺς 
εἰς Δελφοὺς τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀποκατέστησεν. οἱ δὲ 
τὸν κρατῆρα κομίζοντες, ἀναθέντες αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν 
τῶν Μασσαλιητῶν θησαυρόν, εἰς 'Ρώμην ἀνέστρε5 ψαν. διόπερ ὁ δῆμος τῶν 'Ρωμαίων πυθόμενος

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> βασιλεύσαι τῶν Reiske: βασιλεύσαντα.
<sup>3</sup> τέτταρα after τετταράκοντα deleted by Vogel (cp. 12. 36. 1).
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which bordered on theirs. For the time being he lost \$20 a.o. his kingdom, but shortly he was restored by the Thessalians, recovered his crown, and ruled for twenty-four years. Some say, however, that after the expulsion of Amyntas the Macedonians were ruled by Argaeus for a period of two years, and that it was after that time that Amyntas recovered the kingship.

93. The same year Satyrus, the son of Spartacus and king of Bosporus, died after a reign of forty years, and his son Leucon succeeded him in the rulership

for a period of forty years.

In Italy the Romans, who were in the eleventh year of their siege of the Veians, appointed Marcus Furins to be dictator and Publius Cornelius to be master of the horse. These restored the spirit of the troops and captured Veii 1 by constructing an underground passage; the city they reduced to slavery, selling the inhabitants with the other booty. The dictator then celebrated a triumph, and the Roman people, taking a tenth of the spoil, made a gold bowl and dedicated it to the oracle at Delphi. The ambassadors who were taking it fell in with pirates from the Lipari islands, were all taken prisoners, and brought to Lipara. But Timasitheus, the general of the Liparaeans, on learning what had taken place. rescued the ambassadors, gave them back the vessel of gold, and sent them on their way to Delphi. The men who were conveying the bowl dedicated it in the Treasury \* of the Massalians and returned to Rome. Consequently the Roman people, when they

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The fullest account of the capture of this city after a ten-year siege is in Livy, 5, 19 ff.

Delphi was filled with such small buildings erected by individual Greek cities to house their dedications to the mracle.

την τοῦ Τιμασιθέου καλοκάγαθίαν, παραχρήμα αὐτόν ἐτίμησε δημόσιον δοὺς κατάλυμα, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἔτεσιν ἐκατόν τριάκοντα ἐπτὰ την Λιπάραν ἀφελόμενος τῶν Καρχηδονίων τοὺς ἐγγόνους τοῦ Τιμασιθέου τῶν τε εἰσφορῶν ἀτελεῖς ἀφῆκε καὶ

έλευθέρους εποίησεν.

94. Έπει δ' ό ένιαύσιος διεληλύθει χρόνος, 'Αθήνησι μεν ήρχε Φιλοκλής, εν Ρώμη δε την ύπατικήν άρχην μετέλαβον εξ χιλίαρχοι, Πόπλιος καὶ Κορνήλιος, Καίσων Φάβιος, Λεύκιος Φούριος, Κόιντος Σερουίλιος, Μάρκος Οὐαλέριος ήχθη δὲ καὶ 'Ολυμπιάς κατά τούτον τον ένιαυτον έβδομη προς ταίς 2 ενενήκοντα, καθ' ην ενίκα Τερίρης. κατά δε τούτους τούς χρόνους 'Αθηναίοι στρατηγόν έλόμενοι Θρασύβουλον εξέπεμψαν μετά τριήρων τετταράκοντα, ούτος δε πλεύσας είς Ίωνίαν και γρήματα λαβών παρά των συμμάχων ανέζευξε, και διατρίβων περί Χερρόνησον Μήδοκον και Σεύθην τους 3 των Θρακών βασιλείς συμμάχους εποιήσατο. μετά δέ τινα χρόνον έξ Ελλησπόντου πλεύσας είς Λέσ-Βον έν τω παρά την "Ερεσον αίγιαλώ καθώρμει. επιγενομένων δε πνευμάτων μεγάλων είκοσι μεν καί τρείς τριήρεις διεφθάρησαν μετά δε των λοιπών διασωθείς επήει τας κατά την Λέσβον πόλεις προσαγόμενος άφειστήκεισαν γάρ πάσαι πλήν 4 Μιτυλήνης. και πρώτον μεν επί Μέθυμναν παραγενόμενος επισυνήψε μάχην τοις εκ τής πόλεως, ών ήρχε Θηρίμαχος ὁ Σπαρτιάτης. άγωνισάμενος δέ λαμπρώς αὐτόν τε τον Θηρίμαχον ἀνείλε καὶ των Μεθυμναίων ούκ ολίγους, τους δε λοιπούς συνέκλεισεν έντὸς των τειχών, καὶ τὴν μὲν των 1 maff added by Dindorf.

## BOOK XIV, 93, 5-94, 4

learned of this generous act of Timasitheüs, honoured \*\*\* \*\*.c. him at once by conferring the right to public hospitality, and one hundred and thirty-seven years later, when they took Lipara from the Carthaginians, they relieved the descendants of Timasitheüs of the payment of taxes and gave them freedom.

94. When the year had ended, in Athens Philocles are n.c.

became archon, and in Rome the consular magistracy was assumed by six military tribunes, Publius and Cornelius, Caeso Fabius, Lucius Furius, Quintus Servilius, and Marcus Valerius 1; and this year the Ninety-seventh Olympiad was celebrated, that in which Terires was victor.2 In this year the Athenians chose Thrasybulus general and sent him to sea with forty triremes. He sailed to Ionia, collected funds from the allies, and proceeded on his way; and while tarrying at the Chersonesus he made allies of Medocus and Seuthes, the kings of the Thracians. After some time he sailed from the Hellespont to Lesbos and anchored off the coast at Eresus. But strong winds arose and twenty-three triremes were lost. Getting off safe with the other ships he advanced against the cities of Lesbos, with the intention of winning them over; for they had all revolted with the exception of Mitylene. First he appeared before Methymna and joined battle with the men of the city, who were commanded by the Spartan Therimachus. In a brilliant fight he slew not only Therimachus himself but no small number of the Methymnaeans and shut up the rest of them within their walls; he also

2 In the " stadion."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This list is hopelessly defective. Livy (5. 24. 1) gives the names as Publius Cornelius Cossus, Publius Cornelius Scipio, Marcus Valerius Maximus, Caeso Fabius Ambustus, Lucius Furius Medullinus, and Quintus Servilius.

την τοῦ Τιμασιθέου καλοκάγαθίαν, παραχρήμα αὐτόν ἐτίμησε δημόσιον δοὺς κατάλυμα, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἔτεσιν ἐκατὸν τριάκοντα ἐπτὰ τὴν Λιπάραν ἀφελόμενος τῶν Καρχηδονίων τοὺς ἐγγόνους τοῦ Τιμασιθέου τῶν τε εἰσφορῶν ἀτελεῖς ἀφῆκε καὶ

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94. Επεί δ' δ ένιαύσιος διεληλύθει χρόνος, 'Αθήνησι μέν ήρχε Φιλοκλής, έν 'Ρώμη δέ την υπατικήν άρχην μετέλαβον εξ χιλίαρχοι, Πόπλιος καὶ Κορνήλιος, Καίσων Φάβιος, Λεύκιος Φούριος, Κόιντος Σερουίλιος, Μάρκος Οὐαλέριος ήχθη δὲ καὶ 'Ολυμπιάς κατά τοῦτον τον ένιαυτον έβδόμη πρός ταῖς 2 ενευήκουτα, καθ' ην ενίκα Τερίρης. κατά δε τούτους τους χρόνους 'Αθηναίοι στρατηγόν έλόμενοι Θρασύβουλον εξέπεμψαν μετά τριήρων τετταράκοντα. ούτος δε πλεύσας είς Ίωνίαν και χρήματα λαβών παρά των συμμάχων ανέζευξε, και διατρίβων περί Χερρόνησον Μήδοκον και Σεύθην τους 3 των Θρακών βασιλείς συμμάχους εποιήσατο. μετά δέ τινα χρόνον εξ Ελλησπόντου πλεύσας είς Λέσβον έν τῷ παρά τὴν Ερεσον αἰγιαλῷ καθώρμει. επιγενομένων δε πνευμάτων μεγάλων είκοσι μεν καί τρεις τριήρεις διεφθάρησαν μετά δε των λοιπών διασωθείς έπηει τας κατά την Λέσβον πόλεις προσαγόμενος άφειστήκεισαν γάρ πάσαι πλήν 4 Μετυλήνης. και πρώτον μεν επί Μέθυμναν παραγενόμενος επισυνήψε μάχην τοις έκ της πόλεως, ών ήρχε Θηρίμαχος ὁ Σπαρτιάτης. άγωνισάμενος δέ λαμπρώς αὐτόν τε τον Θηρίμαχον άνείλε καί τών Μεθυμναίων ούκ όλίγους, τους δε λοιπούς συνέκλεισεν έντος των τειχών, και την μέν των

2 god added by Dindorf.

## BOOK XIV. 93, 5-94, 4

learned of this generous act of Timasitheüs, honoured \$90 a.c. him at once by conferring the right to public hospitality, and one hundred and thirty-seven years later, when they took Lipara from the Carthaginians, they relieved the descendants of Timasithelia of the

payment of taxes and gave them freedom.

94. When the year had ended, in Athens Philocles 392 a.o. became archon, and in Rome the consular magistracy was assumed by six military tribunes, Publius and Cornelius, Caeso Fabius, Lucius Furius, Quintus Servilius, and Marcus Valerius 1; and this year the Ninety-seventh Olympiad was celebrated, that in which Terires was victor.2 In this year the Athenians chose Thrasybulus general and sent him to sea with forty triremes. He sailed to Ionia, collected funds from the allies, and proceeded on his way; and while tarrying at the Chersonesus he made allies of Medocus and Seuthes, the kings of the Thracians. After some time he sailed from the Hellespont to Lesbos and anchored off the coast at Eresus. But strong winds arose and twenty-three triremes were lost. Getting off safe with the other ships he advanced against the cities of Lesbos, with the intention of winning them over; for they had all revolted with the exception of Mitylene. First he appeared before Methymna and joined battle with the men of the city, who were commanded by the Spartan Therimachus. In a brilliant fight he slew not only Therimachus himself but no small number of the Methymnacans and shut up the rest of them within their walls; he also

In the "stadion."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This list is hopelessly defective. Livy (8. 24. 1) gives the names as Publius Cornelius Cossus, Publius Cornelius Scipio. Marcus Valerius Maximus, Caeso Pabius Ambustus, Lucius Furius Medullinus, and Quintus Servillus.

Μεθυμναίων χώραν ἔφθειρε, τὴν δ' Ερεσον καὶ τὴν Αντισσαν καθ' όμολογίαν παρέλαβεν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρά τε Χίων καὶ Μιτυληναίων συμμάχων

άθροίσας ναθς έπλευσεν έπὶ 'Ρόδον.

95. Καργηδόνιοι δὲ βραδέως έαυτοὺς ἐκ τῆς περὶ Συρακούσας συμφοράς αναλαβόντες, έγνωσαν αντέγεσθαι των κατά Σικελίαν πραγμάτων. κρίναντες δέ διαγωνίζεσθαι, ναυσί μέν μακραϊς ολίγαις διέβησαν, δύναμιν δέ συνήγαγου από τε Λιβύης καί Σαρδούς, έτι δε των εξ Ίταλίας βαρβάρων. πάντας δ' επιμελώς καθοπλίσαντες μετά της οίκείας χορηγίας επεραιώθησαν είς την Σικελίαν, ούκ ελάττους όντες των οκτώ μυριάδων, ων ήγειτο Μάγων. 2 ούτος μεν ούν διά Σικελών πορευθείς, και τάς πλείστας πόλεις αποστήσας του Διονυσίου, κατεστρατοπέδευσεν εν τη των 'Αγυριναίων χώρα παρά του Χρύσαν ποταμου έγγυς της όδου της φερούσης είς Μοργαντίναν τους γάρ 'Αγυριναίους ου δυνάμενος είς συμμαχίαν προσλαβέσθαι, της είς τούμπροσθεν απέστη πορείας, ακούων τους πολεμίους έκ Συρακουσών ώρμηκέναι.

3 Διονύσιος δὲ πυθόμενος τοὺς Καρχηδονίους διὰ τῆς μεσογείου τὴν πορείαν ποιουμένους, ταχὺ συλλέξας οῦς ἡδύνατο τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων ὥρμησε, τοὺς πάντας ἔχων οὐκ ἐλάττους δ δισμυρίων. παραγενόμενος δ' ἐγγὺς τῶν πολεμίων διεπρεσβεύσατο πρὸς "Αγυριν τὸν δυναστεύοντα τῶν 'Αγυριναίων. οὕτος δὲ τῶν τότε τυράννων τῶν ἐν Σικελία μεγίστην εἰχε δύναμιν μετὰ Διο-

νύσιον τῶν τε γὰρ περικειμένων ἐρυμάτων σχεδὸν 262 ravaged the territory of the Methymnacaus and re-seence ceived the surrender of Eresus and Antissa. After this he gathered ships from the Chian and Mity-

lenacan allies and sailed to Rhodes.

95. The Carthaginians, after a slow recovery from the disaster they had suffered at Syracuse,1 resolved to keep their hand in Sicilian affairs. Having decided upon war, they crossed over with only a few warships, but brought together troops from Libva and Sardinia as well as from the barbarians of Italy. The soldiers were all carefully supplied with equipment to which they were accustomed and brought over to Sicily. being no less than eighty thousand in number and under the command of Magon. This commander accordingly made his way through the Siceli, detaching most of the cities from Dionysius, and went into camp in the territory of the Agyrinaeans 2 on the banks of the Chrysas River near the road that leads to Morgantina. For since he was unable to bring the Agyrinaeans to enter an alliance with him, he refrained from marching farther, since he had news that the enemy had set out from Syracuse.

Dionysius, on learning that the Carthaginians were making their way through the interior, speedily collected as many Syracusans and mercenaries as he could and set forth, having in all not less than twenty thousand soldiers. When he came near the enemy he sent an embassy to Agyris, the lord of the Agyrinacans. This man possessed the strongest armament of any of the tyrants of Sicily at that time after Dionysius, since he was lord of practically all

<sup>1</sup> Cp. chap. 75.

Agyrium was the birthplace of Diodorus.

<sup>1</sup> So Hertlein : énform.

<sup>1</sup> re Bichstädt : rore.

άπάντων εκυρίευει και της πόλεως των Αγυριναίων ήρχε πολυοχλουμένης κατ' έκείνους τούς καιρούς. 6 είχε γάρ πολίτας ούκ έλάττους δισμυρίων. Τυ δέ και είς τουτο το πληθος έν τη πόλει συνηθροισμένου γρημάτων πολλών κατά την ακρόπολιν παράθεσις, ην "Αγυρις ηθροίκει πεφονευκώς τους 6 εύπορωτάτους των πολιτών, αλλ' ο Διονύσιος μετ' όλίνων' είσελθών έντος τοῦ τείχους έπεισε τον "Αγυριν συμμαχήσαι γνησίως, και πολλήν έπηγγείλατο χώραν της όμορου δωρήσεσθαι κατ-7 ορθωθέντος του πολέμου. ό δ' Αγυρις πρώτον μέν πάση τη Διονυσίου δυνάμει σίτον και τάλλα όσα ήν γρεία προθύμως έδωρήσατο, και πανδημεί την δύναμιν έξαγαγών έστράτευσε μετά Διονυσίου καὶ κοινή πρός Καργηδονίους διεπολέμει. 96. Μάγων δ' ἐν πολεμία χώρα στρατοπεδεύων, καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεὴς ἀεὶ μᾶλλον γινόμενος, οὐ μετρίως ήλαττοῦτο καὶ γὰρ οί περὶ τὸν "Αγυριν της γώρας εμπειροι καθεστώτες έν ταις ένέδραις

καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεὴς ἀεὶ μᾶλλον γινόμενος, οὐ μετρίως ἡλαττοῦτο· καὶ γὰρ οἱ περὶ τὸν "Αγυριν τῆς χώρας ἔμπειροι καθεστῶτες ἐν ταῖς ἐνέδραις ἐπλεονέκτουν καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἀφη-2 ροῦντο. λεγόντων δὲ τῶν Συρακοσίων διὰ μάχης κρίνειν ὡς τάχιστα τὰ πράγματα, Διονύσιος ἡναντιοῦτο λέγων χωρὶς κινδύνων τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τῆ σπάνει καταφθαρήσεσθαι τοὺς βαρβάρους· ἐφ' οἱς παροργισθέντες οἱ Συρακόσιοι κατέλιπον τὸν Διο-3 νύσιον. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εὐλαβούμενος ἐπ' ἐλευθερίαν ἐκάλει τοὺς οἰκέτας, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διαπρεσβευσαμένων τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης ὑπακούσας ἀναπομπίμους τοῖς κυρίοις ἐποίησε, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους εἰρήνην ἐποιήσατο.

So Eichstädt : ἀκυρίσυσε.
 So Rhodoman : συνηθροισμένων.

the neighbouring fortified communities and ruled the 302 s.c. city of the Agyrinaeans which was well peopled at that time, for it had no less than twenty thousand citizens. There was also laid up on the acropolis for this multitude which had been gathered together in the city a large store of money which Agyris had collected after he had murdered the wealthiest citizens. But Dionysius, after entering the city with a small company, persuaded Agyris to join him as a genuine ally and promised to make him a present of a large portion of neighbouring territory if the war ended successfully. At the outset, then, Agyris readily provided the entire army of Dionysius with food and whatever else it needed, led forth his troops in a body, joined with Dionysius in the campaign, and fought together with him in the war against the Carthaginians,

96. Magon, since he was encamped in hostile territory and was ever more and more in want of supplies, was at no little disadvantage; for the troops of Agyris, being familiar with the territory, held the advantage in laying ambushes and were continually cutting off the enemy's supplies. The Syracusans were for deciding the issue by battle as soon as possible, but Dionysius opposed them, saying that time and want would ruin the barbarians without fighting. Provoked to anger at this the Syracusans deserted him. In his first concern Dionysius proclaimed freedom for the slaves, but later, when the Carthaginians sent embassics to discuss peace, he negotiated with them, sent back the slaves to their masters, and made peace with the Carthaginians. The conditions

So Rhodoman : όλίγον.
 So Dindorf : δευρήσασθαι.

• ήσαν δ' αί' συνθήκαι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παραπλήσιαι ταῖς πρότερον, Σικελοὺς δὲ δεῖν ὑπὸ Διονύσιον τετάχθαι καὶ παραλαβεῖν αὐτὰν τὸ Ταυρομένιον. μετὰ δὲ τὰς συνθήκας Μάγων μὰν ἀπέπλευσε, Διονύσιος δὲ παραλαβών τὸ Ταυρομένιον τοὺς μὲν πλείστους τῶν ἐκεῖ Σικελῶν ἐξέβαλεν, τῶν δ' ἰδίων μισθοφόρων τοὺς ἀπιτηδειοτάτους ἐπιλέξας κατώκισεν.

5 Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Σικελίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ῥωμαῖοι Φαλίσκον πόλιν ἐκ τοῦ

Φαλίσκων έθνους εξεπόρθησαν.

97. Τοῦ δ' έτους τούτου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μεν ήν άρχων Νικοτέλης, εν 'Ρώμη δε την ύπατικην άρχην διώκουν χιλίαρχοι τρείς, Μάρκος Φούριος, Γάιος Αιμίλιος. τούτων δε την άρχην παρειληφότων οι λακωνίζοντες των 'Ροδίων επαναστάντες τῷ δήμῳ τοὺς τὰ τῶν 'Αθηναίων φρονοῦντας 2 ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. συνδραμόντων δ' αὐτῶν έν τοις οπλοις και πειρωμένων άντέχεσθαι των πραγμάτων, επεκράτησαν οι Λακεδαιμονίοις συμμαγούντες, και πολλούς μεν εφόνευσαν, τούς δέ διαφυγόντας έξεκήρυξαν. εὐθύς δέ καὶ πρέσβεις απέστειλαν είς Λακεδαίμονα περί βοηθείας, εύλα-3 βούμενοι μή τινες των πολιτών νεωτερίσωσιν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' αὐτοῖς ἀπέστειλαν έπτὰ τριήρεις καὶ τοὺς ἀφηγησομένους τῶν πραγμάτων τρεῖς αυδρας, Εὐδόκιμον καὶ Φιλόδοκον καὶ Διφίλαν. ούτοι δὲ πρώτον εἰς Σάμον κομισθέντες ἀπέστησαν την πόλιν 'Αθηναίων, επειτα καταπλεύσαντες είς 'Ρόδον των ενταύθα πραγμάτων είχον την επι-4 μέλειαν. οί δέ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, προχωρούντων αὐwere like the former 1 except that the Siceli were 202 s.a. to be subject to Dionysius and that he was to receive Tauromenium. After the conclusion of the treaty Magon sailed off, and Dionysius, on taking possession of Tauromenium, banished most of the Siceli who were in it and selected and settled there the most suitable members of his own mercenary troops.

Such was the state of affairs in Sicily; and in Italy the Romans pillaged the city of Faliscus of the tribe

of the Falisci.

97. At the close of this year, in Athens Nicoteles 201 a.c. was archon, and in Rome the consular magistracy was administered by three military tribunes, Marcus Furius and Gaius Aemilius.\* After these magistrates had entered office, the philo-Lacedaemonians among the Rhodians rose up against the party of the people and expelled from the city the partisans of the Athenians. When these banded together under arms and endeavoured to maintain their interests, the allies of the Lacedacmonians got the upper hand, slaughtered many, and formally banished those who escaped. They also at once sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon to get aid, fearing that some of the citizens would rise in revolt. The Lacedaemonians dispatched to them seven triremes and three men to take charge of affairs, Eudocimus, Philodocus, and Diphilas. They first reached Samos and brought that city over from the Athenians, and then they put in at Rhodes and assumed the oversight of affairs there. The Lacedacmonians, now that their affairs were

See Book 13, 114, 1.
 Livy (5, 26) gives six names including these two.
 Called Ecdicus in Xenophon, Hell. 4, 8, 20.

<sup>1 8&#</sup>x27; al Eichstädt: 31. 2 So Wesseling: Aanedaupómos.

τοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων, ἔγνωσαν ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς θαλάττης καὶ πάλιν ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐκράτουν τῶν συμμάχων ἀθροίσαντες ναυτικόν. οδτοι μὲν οδυ εἴς τε Σάμον καὶ Κνίδον καὶ 'Ρόδον κατέπλευσαν, καὶ πανταχόθεν ναῦς τε καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους καταγράφοντες' ἐπιβάτας ἐξήρτυον πολυτελῶς τριήρεις εἴκοσιν ἐπτά.

'Αγησίλαος δ' ό τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς, ἀκούων τοὺς 'Αργείους περὶ τὴν Κόρινθον διατρίβοντας, ἐξήγαγε τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους πανδημεὶ πλὴν μιᾶς μόρας. ἐπελθών δὲ τὴν 'Αργείαν πᾶσαν τὰς μὲν κτήσεις διήρπασεν, τὴν δὲ χώραν δενδρο-

τομήσας είς την Σπάρτην απεχώρησεν.

98. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Κύπρον Εὐαγόρας ὁ Σαλαμίνιος, δς ἦν μὲν εὐγενέστατος, τῶν γὰρ κτισάντων τὴν πόλιν ἦν ἀπόγονος, πεφευγὼς δ' ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις διά τινας στάσεις, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κατελθὼν μετ' ὀλίγων, τὸν μὲν δυναστεύοντα τῆς πόλεως 'Αβδήμονα τὸν Τύρσιον' ἐξέβαλε, φίλον ὅντα τοῦ Περαῶν βασιλέως, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν πόλιν κατασχὼν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Σαλαμῖνος, μεγίστης οὕσης καὶ δυνατωτάτης τῶν ἐν Κύπρω πόλεων' ταχὺ δὰ χρημάτων' πολλῶν εὐπορήσας καὶ δύναμιν προχειρισάμενος ἐπεχείρησεν ἀπασαν 2 τὴν νῆσον σφετερίσασθαι. τῶν δὲ πόλεων ἃς μὲν βίς χειρωσάμενος, ἃς δὲ πειθοῦ προσλαβόμενος, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων πόλεων ταχὺ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρέλαβεν, 'Αμαθούσιοι δὲ καὶ Σόλιοι καὶ Κιτιεῖς ἀντ-

So Vogel: κατέγραφον.
\* So Rhodoman : Τύριου.
\* πλήθυς after χρημάτων deleted by Dindorf.

prospering, resolved to get control of the sea, and 201 a.c. after gathering a naval force they again little by little began to get the upper hand over their allies. So they put in at Samos and Cnidus and Rhodes; and gathering ships from every place and enrolling the choicest marines, they equipped lavishly twenty-seven triremes.

Agesilaüs, the king of the Lacedaemonians, on hearing that the Argives were engaged about Corinth, led forth the Lacedaemonians in full force with the exception of one regiment. He visited every part of Argolis, pillaged the homesteads, cut down the trees over the countryside, and then returned to

Sparta.

98. In Cyprus Evagoras of Salamis, who was of most noble birth, since he was descended from the founders of the city, but had previously been banished because of some factional quarrels and had later returned in company with a small group, drove out Abdemon of Tyre, who was lord of the city and a friend of the King of the Persians. When he took control of the city, Evagoras was at first king only of Salamis, the largest and strongest of the cities of Cyprus; but when he soon acquired great resources and mobilized an army, he set out to make the whole island his own. Some of the cities he subdued by force and others he won over by persuasion. While he easily gained control of the other cities, the peoples of Amathus,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This was more likely Agesipolis (Xenophon, Hell. 4. 7. 8).
<sup>2</sup> Evagoras traced his ancestry to Teucer, the founder of Salamis (Pausanias, 1. 3. 2; 8. 15. 7). In addition to the further facts of Evagoras' career given by Diodorus (chap. 110. 5; Book 15. 2-4, 8-9, 47), this distinguished king and faithful friend of Athens is well known from the pausgyrie bearing his name composed by Isocrates about 365 m.c.

έχοντες τῷ πολέμω πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν. πρὸς `Αρταξέρξην τὸν τῶν Περσῶν βασιλέα περὶ βοηθείας· καὶ τοῦ μὲν Εὐαγόρου κατηγόρουν, ὅτι τὸν "Αγυριν βασιλέα σύμμαχον ὅντα Περσῶν ἀνείλε, τὴν δὲ νῆσον ὡμολόγησαν αὐτῷ συγκατακτήσασθαι.

τήν δε νησον ωμολογησαν αυτώ συγκατακτησασύαι. 
3 ό δε βασιλεύς, οὐ βουλόμενος ἄμα μεν τὸν Εὐαγόραν εἰπ πλεῖον προκόπτειν, ἄμα δε διανοούμενος τὴν Κύπρον εὐφυῶς εἰναι κειμένην καὶ ναυτικὴν δύναμυν μεγάλην ἔχειν, ἢ δυνήσεται προπολεμεῖν τῆς 'Ασίας, ἔκρινε συμμαχεῖν, καὶ τούτους μεν ἐξέπεμμεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὰς ἐπιθαλαττίους πόλεις καὶ τοὺς ἀφηγουμένους τῶν πόλεων σατράπας ἔπεμψεν ἐπιστολὰς ναυπηγεῖσθαι τριήρεις καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν στόλον χρήσιμα ὅντα κατὰ σπουδὴν παρασκευάζεσθαι, 'Εκατόμνω δὲ τῷ Καρίας δυνάστη προσέταξε πολεμεῖν τῷ Εὐαγόρα. οῦτος δὲ τὰς ἐν ταῖς ἄνω σατραπείοις πόλεις ἐπιπορευόμενος μεγάλαις δυνάμεσι διαβαίνει εἰς τὴν Κύποον.

5 Τὰ μεν οὖν κατὰ τὴν 'Aσίαν ἐν τούτοις ἡν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν 'Ιταλίαν 'Ρωμαῖοι πρὸς Φαλίσκους εἰρήνην ποιησάμενοι, πρὸς δὲ Αἰκίκλους' πόλεμον τὸ τέταρτον, καὶ Σούτριον μὲν ῷκισαν, ἐκ δὲ Οὐερρηγῖνος

πόλεως ύπο των πολεμίων εξεβλήθησαν.

99. Τοῦ δ' ἔτους τούτου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μὲν ήρχε Δημόστρατος, ἐν 'Ρώμη δ' ὕπατοι την ἀρχήν παρειλήφεισαν Λεύκιος Λουκρήτιος καὶ Σερουίλιος. κατὰ δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους 'Αρταξέρξης μὲν Στρούθαν στρατηγὸν κατέπεμψεν ἐπὶ θάλατταν μετὰ δυνάμεως Λακεδαιμονίοις πολεμήσοντα, Σπαρτιᾶται δὲ τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ πυθό-

afrat καιμάτην Vogel, omitted A, διακτιμάτην cel.
 δύνασθαι after δύναμιν deleted by Reiske.

Soli, and Citium resisted him with arms and dispatched 391 a.c. ambassadors to Artaxerxes the King of the Persians to get his aid. They accused Evagoras of having slain King Agyris, an ally of the Persians, and promised to join the King in acquiring the island for him. The King, not only because he did not wish Evagoras to grow any stronger, but also because he appreciated the strategic position of Cyprus and its great naval strength whereby it would be able to protect Asia in front, decided to accept the alliance. He dismissed the ambassadors and for himself sent letters to the cities situated on the sea and to their commanding satraps to construct triremes and with all speed to make ready everything the fleet might need; and he commanded Hecatomnus, the ruler of Caria, to make war upon Evagoras. Hecatomnus traversed the cities of the upper satrapies and crossed over to Cyprus in strong force.

Such was the state of affairs in Asia. In Italy the Romans concluded peace with the Falisci and waged war for the fourth time on the Aequi; they also sent a colony to Sutrium but were expelled by the enemy

from the city of Verrugo.

99. At the close of this year Demostratus was son ac. archon in Athens, and in Rome the consuls Lucius Lucretius and Servilius 1 took office. At this time Artaxerxes sent Struthas as general to the coast with an army to make war on the Lacedaemonians, and the Spartans, when they learned of his arrival, dis-

<sup>1</sup> Servilius Sulpicius Camerinus (Livy. 5. 29).

<sup>3</sup> So Dindorf : avros.

So Cluver: Airmhous.
So Wurm: Sopanous.

So Vogel: καταπέμφας έπεμφε.

μενοι Θίβρωνα στρατηγόν είς τὴν ' Ασίαν ἐξέπεμψαν. 
δς κατελάβετο χωρίον "Ιονδα καὶ Κόρνισσον όρος 
ὑψηλόν, τῆς ' Εφέσου ἀπέχον σταδίους τετταρά2 κοντα. οῦτος μὲν οὖν ὀκτακισχιλίους ἔχων στρατιώτας σὺν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ' Ασίαν ἀθροισθεῖσιν 
ἐπήει τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως χώραν φθείρων, Στρούθας 
δὲ σὺν ἴππω τε βαρβαρικῆ πολλῆ καὶ στρατιώταις 
ὅπλίταις μὲν πεντακισχιλίοις, ψιλοῖς δὲ πλείοσι 
διαμυρίων, οὐ μακρὰν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κατ3 εστρατοπέδευσεν. τέλος δὲ τοῦ Θίβρωνος μετὰ 
μέρους τῆς δυνάμεως ἐξελθόντος καὶ πολλὴν περιβαλομένου λείαν, ἐπελθὼν ὁ Στρούθας τόν τε 
Θίβρωνα μαχόμενον ἀνείλε, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν 
τοὺς μὲν πλείστους ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δ' ἐζώγρησεν, 
ὀλίγοι δ' εἰς τὸ Κνιδίνιον φρούριον διεσώθησαν.

Θρασύβουλος δ' ὁ τῶν 'Λθηναίων στρατηγός ἐκ τῆς Λέσβου κομιζόμενος μετὰ τοῦ στόλου πρὸς 'Ασπενδον, ὥρμισε τὰς τριήρεις εἰς τὸν Εὐρυμέδοντα ποταμόν. χρήματα δ' εἰληφότος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῶν 'Ασπενδίων, ὅμως τινὲς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐδήωσαν τὴν χώραν. γενομένης δὲ νυκτὸς οἱ μὲν 'Ασπένδιοι χαλεπῶς ἐνεγκόντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν ἐπέθεντο τοῖς 'Αθηναίοις καὶ τόν τε Θρασύβουλου καὶ τινας τῶν ἄλλων ἀνεῖλαν οἱ δὲ τῶν 'Αθηναίων τριήραρχοι περιδεεῖς γενόμενοι καὶ ταχὺ πληρώσαντες τὰς ναῦς, εἰς 'Ρόδον ἐξέπλευσαν. ἀφεστηκυίας δὲ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τῶν φυγάδων φρούριόν τι κατειληφότων, μετὰ τούτων διεπολέμουν πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δ' 'Αθηναῖοι πυθόμενοι τὴν Θρασυβούλου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τελευτήν, 'Αγύριου στρατηγὸν ἐξέπεμψαν.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Ασίαν ἐν τούτοις ἢν.

patched Thibron as general to Asia. Thibron seized \*\*\* e.e. the stronghold of Ionda and a high mountain, Cornissus,¹ forty stades from Ephesus. He then advanced with eight thousand soldiers together with the troops gathered from Asia, pillaging the King's territory. Struthas, with a strong force of barbarian cavalry, five thousand hoplites, and more than twenty thousand light-armed troops, pitched his camp not far from the Lacedaemonians. Eventually, when Thibron once set out with a detachment of his troops and had seized much booty, Struthas attacked and slew him in battle, killed the larger number of his troops, and took captive others. A few found safety in Chidinium, an outpost.

Thrasybulus, the Athenian general, went with his fleet from Lesbos to Aspendus and moored his triremes in the Eurymedon River. Although he had received contributions from the Aspendians, some of the soldiers, nevertheless, pillaged the countryside. When night came, the Aspendians, angered at such unfairness, attacked the Athenians and slew both Thrasybulus and a number of the others; whereupon the captains of the Athenian vessels, greatly alarmed, speedily manned the ships and sailed off to Rhodes. Since this city was in revolt, they joined the exiles who had seized a certain outpost and waged war on the men who held the city. When the Athenians learned of the death of their general Thrasybulus, they sent out Agyrius as general.

Such was the state of affairs in Asia.

<sup>2</sup> Ionda should be Isinda, and Cornissus is more likely Solmissus; so B. D. Meritt, Athenian Tributs Lists, p. 49S.

<sup>1</sup> Κόρνισσον P.

100. Κατά δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν ὁ τῶν Συρακοσίων τύραννος Διονύσιος σπεύδων τη κατά την νήσον δυναστεία και τους κατ' Ιταλίαν Ελληνας προσλαβέσθαι, την μέν ἐπ' ἐκείνους κοινήν στρατείαν είς έτερον καιρον άνεβάλετο, κρίνας δε συμφέρειν επιγειρείν πρώτη τη των 'Ρηγίνων πόλει διά το προπολεμητήριον αὐτήν είναι της 'Ιταλίας, ώρμησεν 2 έκ Συρακουσών μετά της δυνάμεως. είχε δέ πε-Lous nev Signuplous, immeis de villous, valis 8' έκατον είκοσι. περαιώσας δε την δύναμιν επί τούς Opour The Aokpidos, exciden bid The memorelow The πορείαν εποιείτο, τέμνων και πυρπολών την τών 'Ρηγίνων χώραν συμπαρέπλευσε δε και δ στόλος έπὶ θάτερα μέρη της θαλάττης," καὶ πάση τη 8 δυνάμει περί τον πορθμον κατεστρατοπέδευσεν. οί δ' Ιταλοί πυθόμενοι την του Διονυσίου διάβασιν έπὶ τὸ 'Ρήγιον, ἀπέστειλαν ἐκ Κρότωνος ναθς έξήκοντα, σπεύδοντες παραδούναι τοῖς 'Ρηγίνοις. μετεώρων δε πλεουσών αύτων ο Διονύσιος πεντήκοντα ναθς έχων ἐπέπλευσε, καὶ φυγόντων αὐτῶν έπὶ τὴν γῆν οὐδὰν ήττον ἐπέκειτο, καὶ συνδήσας 4 απέσπα τὰς παρορμούσας τῆ γῆ. κινδυνευουσών δέ των έξήκοντα τριήρων άλωναι 'Ρηγίνοι πανδημεί παρεβοήθησαν, και από της γης τῷ πλήθει τῶν βελών ανείρξαν τον Διονύσιον. Επιγενομένων δέ πνευμάτων μεγάλων οί μεν 'Ρηγίνοι τας ναθς ανείλκυσαν επί την γην, Διονύσιος δ' ισχυρώς χει-

So Eichstädt: τὴν . . . δυναστείαν.
 So Eichstädt: τɨj θαλάττη.

## BOOK XIV, 100, 1-4

100. In Sicily Dionysius, the tyrant of the Syra-mo a.c. cusans, with intent to annex the Greeks of Italy as well to the overlordship that he held in the island. postponed the general war against them to another time. He judged rather that it was good policy to attack first the city of the Rhegians, because it was the advanced bastion of Italy, and so set out from Syracuse with his army. He had twenty thousand infantry, a thousand cavalry, and one hundred and twenty ships of war. He crossed with his troops to the borders of Locris and from there made his way through the interior, cutting down the trees and burning and destroying the territory of the Rhegians. His fleet sailed along to the other districts 1 upon the sea and he encamped with his entire army at the Strait. When the Italians learned that Dionysius had crossed the sea to attack Rhegium, they dispatched sixty ships from Croton, with intent to hand them over to the Rhegians. While this fleet was cruising on the high sea, Dionysius sailed against them with fifty ships, and when the fleet fled to land, he pressed his attack no less vigorously and began to make fast and haul off the ships that were lying off-shore. Since the sixty triremes were in danger of being captured, the Rhegians came to their aid in full force and held Dionysius off from the land by the multitude of their missiles. When a heavy storm arose, the Rhegians hauled up the ships high and dry on the land, but Dionysius lost seven ships in the

i.s. of Rhegian territory not touched by Dionysius who was advancing through the interior. But the Greek is suspect.

So Eichstädt: ἔπλευσε.
 όν after παρορμούσας deleted by Post.

μασθείς έπτα ναθς απώλεσε και σύν αθταίς ανδρας δ ούκ ελάττους χιλίων πεντακοσίων. τούτων δ' αμα ταις ναυσίν εκβρασθέντων επί την 'Ρηγίνην, οί 'Ρηγίνοι πολλούς των ναυτών εζώγρησαν. Διονύσοιος δ' επί πεντήρους πλέων και πολλάκις παρ' ολίγον ελθών ύποβρύχιος, μόγις περί μέσας νύκτας είς τον εν Μεσσήνη λιμένα κατέφυγεν. ήδη δέ καί της γειμερινής ώρας ενισταμένης ούτος μέν πρός Λευκανούς συμμαχίαν ποιησάμενος απήγαγε τὰς

δυνάμεις είς Συρακούσας.

101. Μετά δε ταῦτα Λευκανῶν τὴν Θουρίαν καταδραμόντων οί Θούριοι παρήγγειλαν τοίς συμμάχοις κατά τάχος άπανταν μετά των δπλων αί γάρ κατά την Ιταλίαν Ελληνίδες πόλεις έν ταίς συνθήκαις είχον ουτως, ιν' ήτις αν υπό των Λευκανών λεηλατηθή χώρα, πρός ταύτην άπαντες παραβοηθώσιν ής δ' αν πόλεως μη καταστή το στρατόπεδου επί την βοήθειαν, τεθνάναι τους εκεί-2 νης τῆς πόλεως στρατηγούς. διόπερ τῶν Θουρίων τούς βιβλιαφόρους αποστειλάντων επί τὰς πόλεις πρός την των πολεμίων παρουσίαν, απαντές παρεσκευάζοντο προς την ανάζουξιν. αὐτοί δὲ προεξαναστάντες ταις όρμαις και τὸ τῶν συμμάχων πληθος ούκ αναμείναντες, ανέζευξαν επί τους Λευκανούς, έχοντες πεζούς μέν πλείους τῶν μυρίων τετρα-3 κισχιλίων, ίππεις δε σχεδον χιλίους. και Λευκανοί μέν ακούσαντες την των πολεμίων έφοδον άπεχώρησαν είς την ίδιαν χώραν οι δε Θούριοι κατά σπουδήν εμβαλόντες είς την Λευκανίαν, το μέν πρώτον φρούριον έξείλον, και πολλής ώφελείας κυριεύσαντες καθαπερεί δέλεαρ έλαβον της έαυτων

heavy gale and together with them no fewer than 200 a.c. fifteen hundred men. Since the sailors were cast ashore together with their ships on Rhegian territory, many of them were taken prisoner by the Rhegians. Dionysius, who was on a quinquereme and many times narrowly escaped foundering, about midnight harely found safety in the harbour of Messene. Since the winter season had already come, he drew up terms of alliance with the Leucani and led his forces back

to Syracuse.

101. After this, when the Leucanians overran the territory of Thurii, the Thurians sent word to their allies to gather to them speedily under arms. For the Greek cities of Italy had an agreement among themselves to the effect that if any city's territory was being plundered by the Leucanians, they should all come to its aid, and that if any city's army did not take up a position to give aid, the generals of that city should be put to death. Consequently, when the Thurians dispatched messengers to the cities to tell of the approach of the enemy, they all made ready to march. But the Thurians, who were first off the mark in their actions, did not wait for the troops of their allies, but set forth against the Leucanians with above fourteen thousand infantry and about one thousand cavalry. The Leucanians, on hearing of the approach of the enemy, withdrew to their own territory, and the Thurians, falling in haste upon Leucania, captured the first outpost and gathered much booty, thus taking the bait, as it were, for their own de-

<sup>\*</sup> re after & deleted by Reiske.

ἀπωλείας. φρονηματισθέντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ προτερήματι καταπεφρονηκότως διά τινων στενῶν καὶ
ἀποκρήμνων όδῶν ἐπορεύθησαν, βουλόμενοι Λᾶον
ἐπόλιν εὐδαίμονα πολιορκῆσαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρεγενήθησαν εἴς τι πεδίον κύκλω λόφοις ὑψηλοῖς
καὶ κρημνοῖς περιειλημμένον, ἐνταῦθα οἰ Λευκανοὶ
πάση τῆ δυνάμει διέκλεισαν αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐπὶ τὰς
πατρίδας ἐπανόδου. παράδοξον δ' ἐπὶ τῷ λόφω
καὶ φανερὰν ποιήσαντες τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἐπιφάνειαν
ἐξέπληξαν τοὺς Ἑλληνας διά τε τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ
στρατοπέδου καὶ τὴν τῶν τόπων δυσχωρίαν εἴχον
γὰρ Λευκανοὶ τότε πεζοὺς μὲν τρισμυρίους, ἱππεῖς
δ' οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρακισχιλίων.

102. Των δ' Ελλήνων ανελπίστως τηλικούτω περιεχομένων κινδύνω, κατέβαινον είς το πεδίον οί βάρβαροι. γενομένης δὲ παρατάξεως, καὶ τῶν 'Ιταλιωτών καταπολεμηθέντων ύπο του πλήθους των Λευκανών, επεσον μέν πλείους των μυρίων. παρήγγελλον γάρ οἱ Λευκανοὶ μηθένα ζωγρεῖν τῶν δε λοιπών οί μεν επί τινα πρός τη θαλάσση λόφον έφυγον, οί δε θεωρούντες ναθς μακράς προσπλεούoas kal voultoures ras rûv Pnylvwv elval, ouvέφυγον είς την θάλασσαν καὶ διενήχοντο ἐπὶ τὰς 2 τριήρεις. ήν δὲ ὁ στόλος ό προσπλέων Διονυσίου τοῦ τυράννου, καὶ ναύαρχος ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῷ Λεπτίνης δ άδελφός, απεσταλμένος τοις Λευκανοις έπι Βοήθειαν. ὁ μεν οδν Λεπτίνης δεξάμενος φιλανθρώπως τους νηχομένους ώς επί την γην απεβίβασε και έπεισε τους Λευκανούς υπέρ έκαστου των

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ἐπανόδου Wesseling: ἐλνίδα Α, ἐλνίδος εσε.
<sup>8</sup> καὶ φανερὰν deleted by Vogel; καὶ φοβερὰν Reiske.
<sup>8</sup> ὁ στόλος ὁ Dindorf: ὁ στόλος.

struction. For having become puffed with pride at sone. their success, they advanced with light concern through some narrow and sheer paths, in order to lay siege to the prosperous city of Laus. When they had arrived at a certain plain surrounded by lofty hills and precipitous cliffs, thereupon the Leucanians with their entire army cut them off from retreat to their native soil. Making their appearance, which was quite unexpected and unconcealed, on the height, they filled the Greeks with dismay, both because of the great size of the army and because of the difficulty of the terrain; for the Leucanians had at the time thirty thousand infantry and no less than four thousand cavalry.

102. When the Greeks were to their surprise caught in such hopeless peril as we have described, the barbarians descended into the plain. A battle took place and there fell of the Italian Greeks, overwhelmed as they were by the multitude of the Leucanians, more than ten thousand men, since the Leucanians gave orders to save no one alive. Of the survivors some fled to a height on the sea, and others, seeing warships sailing toward them and thinking they belonged to the Rhegians, fled in a body to the sea and swam out to the triremes. The approaching fleet belonged to Dionysius the tyrant, under command of his brother Leptines, and had been sent to the aid of the Leucanians. Leptines received the swimmers kindly, set them on land, and persuaded the Leucanians to accept a mina 1 of silver for each

αίχμαλώτων λαβείν ἀργυρίου μνάν οὖτοι δ' ήσαν 8 τον ἀριθμον ὑπὲρ τοὺς χιλίους. γενόμενος δὲ τῶν χρημάτων ἐγγυητὴς καὶ διαλλάξας τοὺς Ἰταλιώτας τοῖς Λευκανοῖς ἔπεισεν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι, καὶ μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἔτυχε παρὰ τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις, συμφερόντως αὐτῷ,' οὐ λυσιτελῶς δὲ Διονυσίῳ συντεθεικὼς τὸν πόλεμον. ἤλπιζε γὰρ ὁ Διονύσιος τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν πολεμούντων πρὸς Λευκανοὺς ἐπελθὼν ῥαδίως ἄν κρατῆσαι τῶν κατ' Ἰταλίαν πραγμάτων, ἀπολελυμένων δὲ τηλικούτου πολέμου δυσχερῶς ᾶν περιγενέσθαι.' διόπερ τοῦτον μὲν ἀπήλλαξε τῆς ναυαρχίας, Θεαρίδην δὲ τὸν ἔτερον ἀδελφὸν ἡγεμόνα τοῦ στόλου κατέστησεν.

4 Τούτων δέ πραχθέντων 'Ρωμαΐοι τὴν τῶν Οὐεξίων χώραν κατεκληρούχησαν, κατ' ἄνδρα δόντες πλέθρα τέτταρα, ὡς δέ τινες, εἴκοσι ἀκτώ· καὶ πρὸς μὲν Αἰκούσους διαπολεμοῦντες Λίφλον πόλιν κατὰ κράτος εἶλον, Οὐελιτρίνων δ' ἀποστάντων πόλεμον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐνεστήσαντο. ἀπέστη δὲ καὶ Σάτρικον ἀπὸ 'Ρωμαίων, καὶ εἰς Κερκίους ἀποικίαν ἀπέστει-

dav.

108. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μὲν ἦρχεν 'Αντίπατρος, ἐν δὲ τῆ 'Ρώμη τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἀρχὴν διώκουν Λεύκιος Οὐαλέριος καὶ Αὐλος Μάλλιος. περὶ δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους Διονύσιος ὁ τῶν Συρακοσίων δυνάστης φανερῶς ἐαυτὸν ἀναδείξας ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ιταλίαν στρατευσόμενον, μετὰ πλείστης δυνάμεως ὥρμησεν ἀπὸ' Συρακου-2 σῶν. εἶχε δὲ πεζοὺς μὲν πλείους τῶν δισμυρίων,

<sup>1</sup> Post suggests advois, "to their advantage."

captive, the number of whom was over a thousand. Wo a.c. Leptines went surety for the ransom money, reconciled the Italian Greeks with the Leucanians, and persuaded them to conclude peace. He won great acclaim among the Italian Greeks, having settled the war, as he had, to his own advantage, but without any profit to Dionysius. For Dionysius hoped that, if the Italian Greeks were embroiled in war with the Leucanians, he might appear and easily make himself master of affairs in Italy, but if they were rid of such a dangerous war, his success would be difficult. Consequently he relieved Leptines of his command and appointed Thearides, his other brother, commander of the fleet.

Subsequent to these events the Romans portioned out in allotments the territory of the Veians, giving each holder four plethra, but according to other accounts, twenty-eight. The Romans were at war with the Aequi and took by storm the city of Liphlus; and they began war upon the people of Velitrae, who had revolted. Satricum also revolted from the Romans; and they dispatched a colony to Cercii.

103. When the year had ended, in Athens Anti- 183 a.c. pater was archon, and in Rome Lucius Valerius and Aulus Mallius administered the consular magistracy. This year Dionysius, the lord of the Syracusans, openly indicated his design of an attack on Italy and set forth from Syracuse with a most formidable force. He had more than twenty thousand infantry, some

of an acre. S Otherwise unknown.

Leptines later went into exile for a time with the Thurians,
 who naturally showed him every courtesy (Book 15. 7. 3-4).
 A plethrum is 10,000 sq. ft., slightly less than one-quarter

<sup>2</sup> So Wesseling : mapayertobas.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> So Rhodoman i čmí.

ίππεις δέ περί τρισχιλίους, ναθς δέ μακράς μέν τεσσαράκοντα, τὰς δὲ τὸν σῦτον κομιζούσας οὐκ έλάττους τριακοσίων. πεμπταίος δε κατανύσας είς την Μεσσήνην αὐτός μεν εν τη πόλει την δύναμιν ανελάμβανε. Θεαρίδην δέ του αδελφον έπι τάς Λιπαραίων νήσους ἀπέστειλε μετά νεών τριάκοντα: πεπυσμένος γαρ ήν δέκα ναθς των 'Ρηγίνων περί 2 εκείνους τους τόπους ούσας. ὁ δὰ Θεαρίδης έκπλεύσας καὶ καταλαβών τὴν 'Ρηγίνων δεκαναΐαν εν τισιν ευθέτοις τόποις, αυτάνδρων των σκαφών έκυρίευσε καὶ ταγέως εἰς Μεσσήνην πρὸς Διονύσιον επέστρεψε. Διονύσιος δε τούς αίχμαλώτους els δεσμά καταθέμενος τοις Μεσσηνίοις έδωκε φυλάττειν, αὐτὸς δὲ περαιώσας τὴν δύναμιν εἰς Καυλωνίαν περιεστρατοπέδευσε την πόλιν, και τάς μηγανάς προσερείσας πυκνάς προσβολάς έποιείτο.

Οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ἑλληνες ὡς ἐπύθοντο τὰς τοῦ Διονυσίου δυνάμεις περαιουμένας τὸν διείργοντα πορθμόν, καὶ αὐτοὶ στρατόπεδα συνήθροιζον. τῆς δὲ τῶν Κροτωνιατῶν πόλεως μάλιστα πολυοχλουμένης καὶ πλείστους ἐχούσης Συρακοσίους φυγάδας, τούτοις τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ πολέμου παρέ-

5 δωκαν· οἱ δὲ Κροτωνιᾶται τὰς πανταχόθεν δυνάμεις ἀθροίσαντες στρατηγὸν "Ελωριν τὸν Συρακόσιον εἴλοντο. οὖτος δὲ πεφευγὼς Διονύσιον καὶ δοκῶν τόλμαν ἔχειν ἔμπρακτον, πιστότατα πρὸς τὸν τύραννον πολεμήσειν διὰ τὸ μῖσος ὑπείληπτο. ὡς δὲ πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι παρεγενήθησαν εἰς Κρότωνα, ' κατὰ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ προαίρεσιν "Ελωρις διατάξας ὥρμησε μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ Καυλωνίας· 6 δμα γὰρ ἐνόμιζεν ἐπιφανεὶς λύσειν τὴν πολιορκίαν,

1 real after Kpórowa deleted by Reiske.

three thousand cavalry, forty ships of war, and not so acless than three hundred vessels transporting food supplies. On arriving at Messene on the fifth day he rested his troops in the city, while he dispatched his brother Thearides with thirty ships to the islands of the Liparaeans, since he had learned that ten ships of the Rhegians were in those waters. Thearides, sailing forth and coming upon the ten Rhegian ships in a place favourable to his purpose, seized the ships together with their crews and speedily returned to Dionysius at Messene. Dionysius threw the prisoners in chains and turned them over to the custody of the Messenians; then he transported his army to Caulonia, laid siege to the city, advanced his siege-

engines, and launched frequent assaults.

When the Greeks of Italy learned that the armaments of Dionysius were starting to move across the strait which separated them, they in turn mustered their forces. Since the city of the Crotoniates was the most heavily populated and had the largest number of exiles from Syracuse, they gave over to them the command of the war, and the people of Croton gathered troops from every quarter and chose as general Heloris the Syracusan. Since this man had been banished by Dionysius and was considered by all to possess action and enterprise, it was believed that he could be best trusted, because of his hatred, to lead a war against the tyrant. When all the allies had gathered in Croton, Heloris disposed them to his liking and advanced with the entire army toward Caulonia. He calculated that he would by his appearance at the same time both relieve the siege and also

αμα δε καταπεπονημένους τούς πολεμίους ύπο τών καθ' ήμέραν προσβολών διαγωνιείσθαι. είχε δε τούς απαντας πεζούς μεν περί διαμυρίους πεντα-

κισχιλίους, ίππεις δέ περί διοχιλίους. 104. Διανυσάντων δ' αὐτών τὸ πλεϊστον τῆς όδοῦ καὶ στρατοπεδευσάντων προς τον 'Ελέπορον<sup>1</sup> ποταμόν, ανέζευξεν ο Διονύσιος από της πόλεως καὶ συνήντα τοις Ἰταλιώταις. δ μὰν οὖν Ελωρις μετά των αρίστων πεντακοσίων προηγείτο τής δυνάμεως, ο δε Διονύσιος έτυχε μεν από τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων έστρατοπεδευκώς των έναντίων, δια δε των κατασκόπων μαθών έγγυς όντας τους πολεμίους, όρθρου την δυναμιν έγείρας προ-2 ήγαγεν είς τουμπροσθεν. αμα δ' ήμερα τοις περί τον Ελωριν ολίγοις ουσιν απαντήσας άφνω προσεμάχετο, και διεσκευασμένην έχων την δύναμιν 3 ανοχήν ουδ' ήντινουν εδίδου τοις πολεμίοις. δ δ' Έλωρις είς πολλήν έμπεσών άπορίαν, αὐτός μέν μεθ' ών είχεν υπέστη τους επιφερομένους, των δέ φίλων τινάς απέστειλεν επί το στρατόπεδον, έπισπευσαι τὰ πλήθη παρακελευόμενος. ὧν ταγέως ποιησάντων τὸ προσταχθέν, οἱ μὲν Ἰταλιῶται πυθόμενοι τον στρατηγόν και τούς μετ' αὐτοῦ κινδυνεύοντας δρομαΐοι παρήσαν έπι την βοήθειαν, δ δε Διονύσιος άθρόα τῆ δυνάμει περιχυθείς τόν θ' Ελωριν καὶ τους μετ αὐτοθ γενναίως άγωνισα- μένους σχεδόν ἄπαντας άνειλε. τῶν δ' Ἰταλιωτῶν σποράδην διὰ τὴν σπουδὴν ἐκβοηθούντων, οί Σικελιώται τὰς τάξεις διαφυλάττοντες ραδίως των πολεμίων περιεγίνοντο. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μέν τινα χρόνον οἰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Έλληνες ὑπέμενον τὸν

κίνδυνον, καίπερ έαυτών πολλούς όρωντες άναιρου-

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be in combat with the enemy worn out by their daily see a.c. assaults. In all he had about twenty-five thousand

infantry and two thousand cavalry.

104. The Italian Greeks had accomplished the major part of their march and were encamped on the Eleporus River, when Dionysius drew off from the city and advanced to meet them. Now Heloris was in the van of his army with five hundred of his choicest troops and Dionysius, as it happened, was encamped forty stades from the enemy. On learning from his scouts that the enemy was near, he roused his army at early light and led it forward. Meeting at daybreak the troops of Heloris, who were few in number, he engaged them in unexpected battle, and since he had his army ready for combat, he gave the enemy not a moment to recover themselves. Though Heloris found himself in desperate straits, he withstood the attackers with what troops he had, while he sent some of his friends to the camp, urging them to rush up the main body of soldiers. These speedily carried out their orders, and when the Italian Greeks learned of the danger facing their general and his troops, they came to their aid on the run. Meanwhile Dionysius, with his troops in close order, surrounded Heloris and his men and slew them almost to a man, though they offered a gallant resistance. Since the Italian Greeks in their haste entered the fighting in scattered groups, the Sicilian Greeks, who kept their lines intact, experienced no difficulty in overcoming the enemy. Nevertheless, the Greeks of Italy maintained the fight for some time, although they saw their comrades falling in great numbers. But when

<sup>1</sup> So Rhodoman: καταπεπολεμημένους.
2 So Vogel: Έλωρω.

μένους ώς δὰ τὴν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τελευτὴν ἐπύθοντο καὶ διὰ τὸν θόρυβον ἀλλήλοις ἐμπίπτοντες ἡλαττοῦντο μεγάλως, τότε δὴ¹ τελέως ἀθυμήσαντες

ετράπησαν.

105. Πολλών δ' αναιρουμένων έν τη κατά τό πεδίον τροπή, κατέφυγε το πλήθος ἐπί τινα λόφον, ερυμνον μεν όντα προς την πολιορκίαν, άνυδρον δε και δυνάμενον ραδίως ύπο των πολεμίων φυλάττεσθαι, όν ό Διονύσιος περιστρατοπεδεύσας τήν τε ήμέραν εκείνην και την νύκτα διηγρύπνησεν έν τοις οπλοις, επιμελώς ταις φυλακαίς γρησάμενος. τη δ' ύστεραία δια το καθμα και την ανυδρίαν οι 2 συμπεφευγότες κακώς απήλλαττον. επικηρυκευσαμένων δ' αὐτών πρός τον Διονύσιον καὶ παρακαλούντων λύτρα πράξασθαι, ου μέτριος έν τοις εθημερήμασι γενόμενος προσέταττεν αποθέσθαι τά οπλα και σφάς αὐτούς έγχειρίσαι τῷ κρατοῦντι. σκληροῦ δὲ τοῦ προστάγματος ὅντος, μέχρι μέν τινος διεκαρτέρουν, ώς δ' ύπο της φυσικής ανάγκης κατεβαρούντο, παρέδωκαν αύτους περί ογδόην 3 ώραν, ήδη τὰ σώματα παρειμένοι. Διονύσιος δέ λαβών ράβδον και πατάξας έπι του έδάφους πρίθμει τους καταβαίνοντας αίχμαλώτους, όντας πλείους των μυρίων, και πάντων αύτοῦ ὑποπτευόντων τὸ θηριώδες, τουναντίον εφάνη πάντων επιεικέστατος 4 τούς τε γάρ αίγμαλώτους άφηκεν αθτεξουσίους γωρίς λύτρων και πρός τὰς πλείστας τῶν πόλεων ειρήνην συνθέμενος άφηκεν αὐτονόμους. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις επαίνου τυγών ύπο των εξ παθόντων γρυ-

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<sup>1</sup> So Eichstädt : 84.

<sup>\*</sup> μὸν suggested by Vogel.

### BOOK XIV. 104. 4-105. 4

they learned of the death of their general, while see mo. being greatly hampered as they fell foul of one another in their confusion, then at last they completely lost

spirit and turned in flight.

105. Many were killed in their rout across the plain; but the main body made a safe retreat to a hill, which was strong enough to withstand a siege but had no water and could be easily contained by the enemy. Dionysius invested the hill and bivouacked under arms that day and through the night, giving careful attention to the watches. The next day the beleagured suffered severely from the heat and lack of water. They then sent a herald to Dionysius inviting him to accept ransom; he, however, did not preserve moderation in his success but ordered them to lay down their arms and put themselves at the disposal of their conqueror. This was a harsh order and they held out for some time; but when they were overborne by physical necessity, they surrendered about the eighth hour, their bodies being now weakened. Dionysius took a staff and struck it on the ground while numbering the prisoners as they descended, and they amounted to more than ten thousand. All men were apprehensive of his brutality, but on the contrary he showed himself most kindly; for he let the prisoners go subject to no authority without ransom, concluded peace with most of the cities, and left them independent. In return for this he received the approval of those he had favoured and was honoured with gold crowns; and

So Dindorf: ἀπηλλάττοντο.
 οὐ μέτριος Vogel: οὐ μετρίως.
 So Wesseling: πράγματος.
 So Relake: λόφου.

σοίς στεφάνοις ετιμήθη, και σχεδόν τοθτ' έδοξε

πράξειν εν τω ζην κάλλιστον.

108. Επί δε 'Ρήγιον αναζεύξαντος αὐτοῦ, καὶ μετά της δυνάμεως παρεσκευασμένου πολιορκείν διά την περί της επιγαμίας υβριν, άγωνία πολλή κατείχε τους 'Ρηγίνους' ούτε γάρ συμμάχους ούτε δύναμιν άξιόμαχον είχον, πρός δε τούτοις ήδεισαν ότι της πόλεως άλούσης ουτ' έλεος ούτε δέησις 2 αὐτοίς ἀπελείπετο. διόπερ ἔκριναν ἀποστείλαι πρέσβεις τους δεησομένους μετρίως αυτοίς χρήσασθαι καὶ παρακαλέσαι μηδέν περὶ αὐτῶν ὑπέρ 3 ανθρωπον βουλεύσασθαι. δ δε Διονύσιος τριακόσια τάλαντα πραξάμενος καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀπάσας παραλαβών ούσας έβδομήκοντα, προσέταξεν έκατον όμήρους δούναι. δοθέντων δε πάντων ανέζευξεν έπὶ Καυλωνίαν. ταύτης δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐνοικοῦντας els Συρακούσας μετώκισε καὶ πολιτείαν δούς πέντε έτη συνεχώρησεν απελείς είναι, την δε πόλιν κατασκάψας τοις Λοκροίς την χώραν των Καυλωνιατών έδωρήσατο.

'Ρωμαΐοι δε Λιφοίκουαν πόλιν εκ τοῦ τῶν Αἰκῶν εθνους ελόντες, κατὰ τὰς τῶν ὑπάτων εὐχὰς μέγαν

άγωνα τω Δεί συνετέλεσαν.

107. Τοῦ δ' ἔτους τούτου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μεν ἢρχε Πυργίων, ἐν δὲ τῆ 'Ρώμη τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν μετέλαβον χιλίαρχοι τέσσαρες, Λεύκιος Λουκρήτιος, Σερούιος Σουλπίκιος, Γάιος Αἰμιλιος

<sup>1</sup> πράξειν Α Peir., πράττειν cet., πράξαι Dindorf, Vogel.
2 So Eichstädt: καταστρόψας.

# BOOK XIV. 105. 4-107, 1

men believed that this would probably be the finest see n.c. act of his life.

106. Dionysius now advanced against Rhegium and prepared to lay siege to the city with his army because of the slight he had received in connection with his offer of marriage.1 Deep distress gripped the Rhegians, since they had neither allies nor an army that was a match for him in battle, and they knew, furthermore, that if the city were taken, neither pity nor entreaty would be left them. Therefore they decided to dispatch ambassadors to entreat him to deal moderately with them and to urge him to make no decision against them beyond what became a human being. Dionysius required three hundred talents of them, took all their ships, which amounted to seventy, and ordered the delivery of one hundred hostages. When all these had been turned over, he set out against Caulonia. The inhabitants of this city he transplanted to Syracuse. gave them citizenship, and allowed them exemption from taxes for five years; he then levelled the city to the ground and gave the territory of the Cauloniates to the Locrians.

The Romans, after taking the city of Liphoccua from the people of the Acqui, held, in accordance with the vows of the consuls, great games in honour of Zeus.

107. At the close of this year, in Athens Pyrgion 255 a.c. was archon and in Rome four military tribunes took over the consular magistracy, Lucius Lucretius, Servius Sulpicius, Gaius Aemilius, and Gaius Rufus,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See chaps. 44, 4-5; 107, 3-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Gaius Rufus is deleted by most editors and is probably a mistake.

καὶ Γάιος 'Ροῦφος, 'Ολυμπιὰς δ' ήχθη ὀγδόη πρὸς ταις ενενήκοντα, καθ' ην ενίκα Σώσιππος 'Αθη-2 ναιος. τούτων δε την άρχην παρειληφότων Διονύσιος ό των Συρακοσίων δυνάστης πορευθείς είς Ίππώνιον μετά της δυνάμεως, τούς μεν κατοικούντας έν αὐτή μετώκισεν είς τὰς Συρακούσας, τὴν δέ πόλιν κατασκάψας τοις Λοκροίς προσεμέρισε 3 την γώραν. κατά το συνεχές γάρ εφιλοτιμείτο τούς Λοκρούς εξ ποιείν διά την συγχωρηθείσαν έπιγαμίαν τους δε Ρηγίνους επεθύμει τιμωρήσασθαι διά την περί της οικτιότητος άδικίαν. καθ' δν γαρ καιρόν απέστειλε πρός αὐτοὺς πρέσβεις άξιων αύτω συγχωρηθήναι των πολιτικών παρθένων γαμήσαι, φασί τους 'Ρηγίνους αποκριθήναι δημοσία τοις πρέσβεσιν, ώς μόνην αὐτῷ συγχωρήσαι γαμείν 4 την του δημίου θυγατέρα. διά τουτο βαρέως φέρων και δοκών ύπερβαλλόντως ύβρίσθαι, πολύς ήν επί τῆ κατ' αὐτῶν τιμωρία. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πρότερον ένιαυτώ την είρηνην συνέθετο πρός αὐτούς οὐ της φιλίας ορεγόμενος, άλλα την ναυτικήν δύναμιν παρελέσθαι βουλόμενος, ούσαν τριήρων έβδομήκοντα. διελάμβανε γάρ της κατά θάλατταν βοηθείας άπο-

κλειαθείσης ράδιως έκπολιορκήσειν την πόλιν. 5 διόπερ κατά την Ιταλίαν ένδιατρίβων έζήτει πρόφασιν εύλογον, δι' ής οὐ παρά την άξίαν την ίδίαν

δόξει λελυκέναι τὰς συνθήκας.

108. 'Αγαγών οὖν πρὸς τὸν πορθμόν τὰς δυνάμεις τὰ πρὸς τὴν διάβασιν παρεσκευάζετο. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἤτει τοὺς 'Ρηγίνους ἀγοράς, ἐπαγ-

<sup>1</sup> rols Aospols added by Rhodoman.

and the Ninety-eighth Olympiad was celebrated, as a.o. that in which Sosippus of Athens was the victor.1 When these men had entered office. Dionysius, the lord of the Syracusans, advanced with his army to Hipponium, removed its inhabitants to Syracuse, razed the city to the ground, and apportioned its territory to the Locrians. For he was continuously set upon doing the Locrians favours for the marriage they had agreed to, whereas he studied revenge upon the Rhegians for their affront with respect to the offer of kinship. For on the occasion when he sent ambassadors to them to ask them to grant him in marriage a maiden of their city, the Rhegians replied to the ambassadors by action of the people, we are told, that the only maiden they would agree to his marrying would be the daughter of their public executioner. Angered because of this and believing that he had been grossly insulted, he was bent on getting revenge upon them. Indeed the peace he had concluded with them in the preceding year had come from no hankering on his part for friendly relations, but was designed to strip them of their naval power, which consisted of seventy triremes. For he believed that if the city were cut off from aid by sea he could easily reduce it by siege. Consequently, while loitering in Italy, he kept seeking a plausible excuse whereby he might seem to have broken the truce without prejudice to his own standing.

108. Dionysius now led his forces to the Strait and made preparations to cross over. And first he asked the Rhegians to provide him with supplies for sale,

In the " stadion."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> So Bezzel: δίκην. Post suggests αἰτίαν.
<sup>3</sup> So Dindorf: πολιοριτήσειν.

γελλόμενος ταχέως τας δοθείσας αποστέλλειν έκ Συρακουσών, τούτο δ' επραττέν, όπως μη διδόντων μέν αὐτῶν δικαίως δόξη τὴν πόλιν έλειν, δόντων δ' ενόμιζεν' εξαναλώσειν αὐτῶν τὸν σίτον καὶ προσκαθίσας την πόλιν διὰ την σπάνιν ταγύ 2 κυριεύσειν αὐτης. οί δε 'Ρηγίνοι τούτων μεν ούδεν ύπονοοθντες το μεν πρώτον εφ' ήμέρας τινάς έχορήγουν τας τροφάς λαμπρώς ώς δε πλείονα χρόνον ένδιέτριβε, ποτέ μέν άρρωστίαν, ποτέ δε άλλας προφάσεις ποριζόμενος, υπονοήσαντες αυτού την έπιβολήν οὐκέτι παρείχον τὰς τροφάς τῷ στρα-8 τοπέδω. ο δε Διονύσιος επί τούτω προσποιηθείς άγανακτείν, τούς μεν όμήρους τοίς Ρηγίνοις άπέδωκε, την δε πόλιν περιστρατοπεδεύσας καθ' ήμέραν προσβολάς έποιείτο. κατεσκεύασε δέ και μηγανημάτων πολύ πλήθος ἀπίστων τοῖς μεγέθεσι, δί ών τὰ τείχη σαλεύων εφιλοτιμεῖτο κατά κράτος 4 έλειν την πόλιν. οί δε 'Ρηγίνοι στρατηγόν έλόμενοι Φύτωνα και πάντας τούς έν ήλικία καθοπλίσαντες, ταίς τε φυλακαίς έπιμελως έχρωντο καί κατά τάς εύκαιρίας εξιόντες ενεπύριζον τας των πολεμίων 5 μηγανάς. ούτοι μέν ούν πολλάκις ύπερ της πατρίδος λαμπρώς άγωνιζόμενοι προ τών τειχών, τήν τε των πολεμίων δργήν εξέκαυσαν και πολλούς μέν έαυτων απέβαλον, ούκ ολίγους δε και των Σικελιωε των ανείλον. και αυτόν δε τον Διονύσιον συνέβη λόγχη πληγέντα παρά τον βουβώνα παρ' ολίγον μέν τελευτήσαι, μόγις δε αύτον αναλαβείν εκ τοῦ τραύματος. χρονιζούσης δέ τῆς πολιορκίας διὰ τὸ τους 'Ρηγίνους άνυπέρβλητον εισφέρεσθαι σπουδήν

So Stephanus : δὲ νομίζειν.
 So Wesseling : ἀπιστον.

promising that he would promptly return from Syra- see a.c. cuse what they had given. He made this request in order that men should think that, if they did not provide the food, he would be justified in seizing the city, whereas if they did, he believed their food would run out and by sitting down before the city he would speedily master it by starvation. The Rhegians, suspecting nothing of this, at first supplied them lavishly with food for several days; but when he kept extending his stay, at one time claiming illness and at another offering other excuses, they suspected what he had in mind and no longer furnished his army with supplies. Dionysius, pretending now to be angered at this, returned the hostages to the Rhegians, laid siege to the city, and launched daily assaults upon it. He also constructed a great multitude of siege weapons of unbelievable size by which he rocked the walls in his determination to take the city by storm. The Rhegians chose Phyton as general, armed all who could bear arms, gave close concern to their watches, and, as opportunity arose, sallied out and burned the enemy's siege engines. Fighting brilliantly as they did for their fatherland on many occasions before the walls, they roused the anger of the enemy, and although they lost many of their own troops, they also slew no small number of the Sicilian Greeks. And it happened that Dionysius himself was struck by a lance in the groin and barely escaped death, recovering with difficulty from the wound. The siege wore on because of the unsurpassable zeal the Rhegians displayed to maintain their freedom;

ύπερ της ελευθερίας, Διονύσιος τὰς μεν δυνάμεις συνείχεν εν ταις καθ' ήμεραν προσβολαις και την εξ άρχης πρόθεσιν οὐκ εγκατέλειπεν.

109. Των δ' 'Ολυμπίων έγγυς όντων απέστειλεν είς τον άνωνα τέθριππα πλείω, διαφέροντα πολύ των άλλων τοις τάχεσι, και σκηνάς είς την πανήγυριν διαγρύσους καὶ πολυτελέσι ποικίλοις ίματίοις κεκοσμημένας. έπεμψε δὲ καὶ ραψωδούς τούς κρατίστους, όπως έν τῆ πανηγύρει τὰ ποιήματα αὐτοῦ προφερόμενοι ποιήσωσιν ένδοξον τὸν Διονύσιον σφόδρα γάρ είς την ποιητικήν ύπηρχε μεμη-2 νώς. τούτων δ' επιμελητήν συνεξέπεμψε Θεαρίδην τον αδελφόν ος έπει παρεγένετο είς την πανήγυριν, έπὶ μέν τῷ κάλλει τῶν σκηνῶν καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν τεθρίππων ήν περίβλεπτος ώς δ' ἐπεβάλονθ' οί ραψωδοί προφέρεσθαι τοῦ Διονυσίου τὰ ποιήματα, κατ' άρχὰς μέν διὰ τὴν εὐφωνίαν τῶν ὑποκριτῶν συνέδραμε τὰ πλήθη καὶ πάντες ἐθαύμαζον μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναθεωροῦντες τὴν κακίαν τῶν ποιημάτων, διεγέλων τον Διονύσιον καὶ κατεγίνωσκον έπὶ τοσούτον, ώστε τινάς τολμήσαι διαρπάζειν τάς 3 σκηνάς. καὶ γὰρ Λυσίας ὁ ῥήτωρ τότε διατρίβων έν 'Ολυμπία προετρέπετο τὰ πλήθη μὴ προσδέγεσθαι τοις ιεροίς άγωσι τους έξ άσεβεστάτης τυραννίδος απεσταλμένους θεωρούς ότε και τον 4 'Ολυμπιακόν λόγον ἐπιγραφόμενον ἀνέγνω. τοῦ δ' άγωνος συντελουμένου συνέβη κατά τύχην των

### So Dindorf: ἐπέβαλον.

Of Athens.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Enough of the oration is preserved (Lysias, Orat. 33) to show that Lysias urged the Greeks to unite against their two great enemies, the Persian King and Dionysius. Plutarch 294

### BOOK XIV. 108. 6-109. 4

but Dionysius held his armaments to the daily assaults see a.a. and would not give up the task he had originally

proposed to himself.

109. The Olympic Games were at hand and Dionysius dispatched to the contest several four-horse teams, which far surpassed all others in swiftness, and also pavilions for the festive occasion, which were interwoven with gold and embellished with expensive cloth of gay and varied colours. He also sent the best professional reciters that they might present his poems in the gathering and thus win glory for the name of Dionysius, for he was madly addicted to poetry. In charge of all this he sent along his brother Thearides. When Thearides arrived at the gathering, he was a centre of attraction for the beauty of the pavilions and the large number of four-horse teams; and when the reciters began to present the poems of Dionysius, at first the multitude thronged together because of the pleasing voices of the actors and all were filled with wonder. But on second consideration, when they observed how poor his verses were, they laughed Dionysius to scorn and went so far in their rejection that some of them even ventured to rifle the tents. Indeed the orator Lysias,1 who was at that time in Olympia, urged the multitude not to admit to the sacred festival the representatives from a most impious tyranny; and at this time he delivered his Olympiacus.2 In the course of the contest chance

(Themistoclas, 25), on the authority of Theophrastus, tells a similar story of c. 470 s.c. when Hiero of Syracuse is represented as sending chariot horses and a costly pavilion to Olympia and Themistocles as urging that the pavilion be torn down and the horses prevented from competing. The story is clearly a pure fabrication based on this account of Diodorus (see Walker in Camb. Ano. Hist. 5, p. 36).

Διονυσίου τεθρίππων τὰ μέν έκπεσεῖν έκ τοῦ δρό-

μου, τὰ δ' ἀλλήλοις ἐμπεσόντα συντριβῆναι, παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὴν παρακομίζουσαν ναῦν τοὺς θεωροὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγώνων ἀναχθεῖσαν εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν ἐκπεσεῖν τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς Τάραντα διά 5 τινας¹ χειμῶνας. διὸ καί φασι σωθέντας τοὺς ναύτας εἰς Συρακούσας διαγγέλλειν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὅτι διὰ τὴν κακίαν τῶν ποιημάτων οὐ μόνον οἱ ραψωδοῦντες, ἀλλὰ σὺν τούτοις τά τε² τέθριππα 6 καὶ ἡ ναῦς ἐξέπεσον. ὁ δὲ Διονύσιος πυθόμενος

8 καὶ ἡ ναῦς ἐξέπεσον. ο δὲ Διονύσιος πυθόμενος τὸν τῶν ποιημάτων διασυρμόν, καὶ τῶν κολάκων λεγόντων ὅτι πᾶσι τοῖς καλῶς πραττομένοις φθονοῦντες ἐξ ὑστέρου θαυμάζουσιν, οὐκ ἀφίστατο τῆς

περί την ποίησιν σπουδής.

7 'Ρωμαῖοι δὲ πρὸς Οὐολσινίτας περὶ Γουράσιον παραταξάμενοι πολλοὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἀνεῖλον.

110. Τούτων δὲ προχθέντων ὁ μὲν ἐνιαύσιος χρόνος παρεληλύθει, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ᾿Αθηναίοις ἡρχε Θεόδοτος, ἐν δὲ τῆ ὙΡώμη τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἀρχὴν εἶχον χιλίαρχοι έξ, Κόιντος Καίσων³ Σουλπίκιος, Αἶνος Καίσων Φάβιος, Κόιντος Σερουίλιος, Πό-

2 πλιος Κορνήλιος. τούτων δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρειληφότων Λακεδαιμόνιοι κακοπαθοῦντες τῷ πολέμω τῷ τε πρὸς τοὺς "Ελληνας καὶ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας, 'Ανταλκίδαν τὸν ναύαρχον ἐξαπέστειλαν πρὸς

3 'Αρταξέρξην ύπερ εἰρήνης. διαλεχθέντος δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ ὧν ἦν ἀπεσταλμένος ἐνδεχομένως, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔφησεν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην· τὰς μὲν κατὰ τὴν 'Ασίαν 'Ελληνίδας πόλεις ὑπὸ βασιλέα τετάχθαι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους "Ελληνας ἄπαντας αὐτο-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> τινας] δεινούς Reiske. <sup>3</sup> Καίσων omitted by A, Vogel.

brought it about that some of Dionysius' chariots left seems. The course and others collided among themselves and were wrecked. Likewise the ship which was on its way to Sicily carrying the representatives from the games was wrecked by strong winds near Taras in Italy. Consequently the sailors who got safe to Syracuse spread the story throughout the city, we are told, that the badness of the verses caused the ill-success, not only of the reciters, but of the teams and of the ship with them. When Dionysius learned of the ridicule that had been heaped upon his verses, his flatterers told him that every fair accomplishment is first an object of envy and then of admiration. He therefore did not give up his devotion to writing.

The Romans fought a battle at Gurasium with the Volscians and slew great numbers of the enemy.

came to an end, and among the Athenians Theodotus was archon and in Rome the consular magistracy was held by six military tribunes, Quintus Caeso Sulpicius, Aenus Caeso Fabius, Quintus Servilius, and Publius Cornelius.<sup>2</sup> After these men had entered office, the Lacedaemonians, who were hard put to it by their double war, that against the Greeks and that against the Persians, dispatched their admiral Antalcidas to Artaxerxes to treat for peace. Antalcidas discussed as well as he could the circumstances of his mission and the King agreed to make peace on the following terms: "The Greek cities of Asia are subject to the King, but all the other Greeks shall be

<sup>1</sup> Tarentum.

As so often, the names are most uncertain and at variance with those of the fasti and of Livy.

νόμους είναι τοῖς δὲ ἀπειθοῦσι καὶ μὴ προσδεχομένοις τὰς συνθήκας διὰ τῶν εὐδοκούντων 4 πολεμήσειν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούτοις εὐδοκήσαντες ἡσυχίαν ἦγον, 'Αθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι καί τινες ἔτεροι τῶν 'Ελλήνων' βαρέως ἔφερον ἐπὶ τῷ τὰς κατὰ τὴν 'Ασίαν πόλεις ἐγκαταλελεῖφθαι καθ' αὐτοὺς δὲ οὐκ ὅντες ἀξιόμαχοι, κατ' ἀνάγκην συνεχώρησαν καὶ προσεδέξαντο τὴν εἰρήνην.

Καὶ ὁ μèν βασιλεὺς διαλυθείσης τῆς πρὸς τοὺς "Ελληνας διαφορᾶς παρεσκευάζετο τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς τὸν Κυπριακὸν πόλεμον ὁ γὰρ Εὐαγόρας σχεδὸν ὅλην τὴν Κύπρον ἦν κεκτημένος καὶ δυνάμεις άδρὰς συνηθροίκει διὰ τὸ τὸν ᾿Αρταξέρξην τῷ

πρός τους "Ελληνας πολέμω διεσπάσθαι.

111. Διονυσίου δὲ σχεδον ένδέκατον μῆνα 'Ρήγιον πολιορκοῦντος καὶ τὰς πανταχόθεν βοηθείας ἀποκεκλεικότος, εἰς δεινὴν σπάνιν τῶν ἀναγκαίων οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν παρεγενήθησαν· φασὶ γὰρ παρὰ γοῖς 'Ρηγίνοις κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν πέντε μνῶν γενέσθαι τὸν μέδιμνον τοῦ σίτου. καταπονούμενοι δὲ τῆ σιτοδεία τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τούς τε ἴππους καὶ τἄλλα ὑποζύγια κατέφαγον, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δέρματα καθέψοντες ἐσιτοῦντο, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξιόντες τὴν πρὸς τοῖς τείχεσι βοτάνην ἤσθιον καθαπερεί τινα θρέμματα οὕτως ἡ τῆς φύσεως ἀνάγκη τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην δίαιταν εἰς ἀλόγων ζώων τροφὰς καταφυγεῖν ἐβιάζετο. ὁ δὲ Διονύσιος πυθόμενος τὸ γινόμενον οὐχ ὅπως ἡλέησε τοὺς

So Dindorf: ἄλλων.
So Sintenis: διαλυθείς.

So Wesseling, εκβεβλημένος Α, εκκεκλημένος cet.

independent; and upon those who refuse compliance and do not accept these terms I shall make war through the aid of those who consent to them." Now the Lacedacmonians consented to the terms and offered no opposition, but the Athenians and Thebans and some of the other Greeks were deeply concerned that the cities of Asia should be left in the lurch. But since they were not by themselves a match in war, they consented of necessity and accepted the peace.

The King, now that his difference with the Greeks was settled, made ready his armaments for the war against Cyprus. For Evagoras had got possession of almost the whole of Cyprus and gathered strong armaments, because Artaxerxes was distracted by

the war against the Greeks.

111. It was about the eleventh month of Dionysius' siege of Rhegium, and since he had cut off relief from every direction, the inhabitants of the city were faced by a terrible dearth of the necessities of life. We are told, indeed, that at the time a medimnus of wheat among the Rhegians cost five minas. So reduced were they by lack of food that at first they ate their horses and other beasts of burden, then fed upon boiled skins and leather, and finally they would go out from the city and eat the grass near the walls like so many cattle. To such an extent did the demand of nature compel the wants of man to turn for their satisfaction to the food of dumb animals. When Dionysius learned what was taking place, far

3 About \$60 a bushel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This famous Peace of Antalcidas is given in a little fuller form in Xenophon, Holl. 5. 1. 31.

ἐν after 'Αρταξέρξην deleted by Hertlein.
 So Reiske: καθεψώντες.

ύπὲρ ἄνθρωπον πάσχειν ἀναγκαζομένους, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τοὐναντίον ἐπαγαγὼν ζεύγη είλε τὴν πόαν τοῦ 4 τόπου, ὥστε τὴν ὕλην ἄπασαν ἀφανισθῆναι. διόπερ ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς τῶν κακῶν νικώμενοι παρέδωκαν τὴν πόλιν οἱ 'Ρηγῖνοι τῷ τυράννῳ, τὴν πᾶσαν καθ' αὐτῶν¹ ἐπιτρέψαντες ἐξουσίαν. ὁ δὲ Διονύσιος κατὰ μὲν τὴν πόλιν εῦρε σωροὺς νεκρῶν οἱ διὰ τὴν ἔνδειαν τῆς τροφῆς ἐτετελευτήκεισαν³· καὶ τοὺς ζῶντας δὲ νεκρῶν ἔχοντας διάθεσιν καὶ παρειμένους τὰ σώματα καταλαβών, ἤθροισεν αἰχμαλώτους πλείους τῶν εξακισχιλίων. τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος ἀποστείλας εἰς Συρακούσας ἐκέλευσε τοὺς δόντας ἀργυρίου μνῶν ἀπολυτροῦσθαι, τοὺς δ' εὐπορῆσαι μὴ δυνηθέντας ἐλαφυροπώλησε.

112. Φύτωνα δὲ τὸν τῶν 'Ρηγίνων στρατηγὸν συλλαβών, τὸν μὲν υίὸν αὐτοῦ κατεπόντισεν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔδησε πρὸς τὰς ὑψηλοτάτας μηχανάς, οἱονεὶ τραγικήν τινα τιμωρίαν λαμβάνων, προσέπεμψε δέ τινα τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἔροῦντα πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς ἔχθὲς αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱὸν Διονύσιος κατεπόντισε πρὸς δν εἶπε Φύτων, διότι γέγονεν εὐτυ- χέστερος τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμέρα μιᾶ. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα περιῆγεν αὐτὸν Διονύσιος τὴν πόλιν μαστίζων καὶ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον αἰκιζόμενος, ἄμα κήρυκος συνακολουθοῦντος ὅτι τὸν ἄνδρα Διονύσιος τιμωρεῖται παρηλλαγμένως, ὅτι τὴν πόλιν ἔπεισεν ἔλέσθαι τὸν

3 πόλεμον. ό δε Φύτων κατά την πολιορκίαν στρατηγός άγαθός γεγενημένος καὶ κατά τὸν ἄλλον βίον ἐπαινούμενος, οὐκ ἀγεννῶς ὑπέμενε τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς τελευτῆς τιμωρίαν, ἀλλ' ἀκατάπληκτον τὴν ψυχὴν

<sup>1</sup> καθ' αὐτῶν Dindorf: κατ' αὐτῶν.
2 So Eichstädt: τετελευτήκασι.

from showing mercy to those who were perforce suffering beyond man's endurance, on the contrary he brought in cattle to clear the place of the greenstuff, with the result that it was completely stripped. Consequently the Rhegians, overcome by their excessive hardships, surrendered their city to the tyrant, giving him complete power over their lives. Within the city Dionysius found heaps of dead who had perished from lack of food, and the living too whom he captured were like dead men and weakened in body. He got together more than six thousand captives and the multitude he sent off to Syracuse with orders that those who could pay as ransom a mina of silver should be freed, but to sell as slaves those who were unable to raise that sum.

112. Dionysius seized Phyton, the general of the Rhegians, and drowned his son in the sea, but Phyton himself he at first bound on his loftiest siege engines, wreaking a vengeance upon him such as is to be seen upon the stage of tragedy. He also sent one of his servants to him to tell him that Dionysius had drowned his son in the sea the day before; to whom Phyton replied, "He has been more fortunate than his father by one day." After this Dionysius had him led about the city under flogging and subjected to every indignity, a herald accompanying him and announcing that Dionysius was inflicting this unusual vengeance upon the man because he had persuaded the city to undertake the war. But Phyton, who had shown himself a brave general during the siege and had won approval for all his other qualities, endured his mortal punishment with no low-born spirit. Rather

φυλάξας καὶ βοῶν ὅτι τὴν πόλιν οὐ βουληθεὶς προδοῦναι Διονυσίω τυγχάνει τῆς τιμωρίας, ἢν αὐτῶ τό δαιμόνιον έκείνω συντόμως επιστήσει ωστε την άρετην τάνδρος και παρά τοις στρατιώταις του 4 Διονυσίου κατελεεῖσθαι καί τινας ήδη θορυβεῖν. δ δε Διονύσιος εὐλαβηθείς, μή τινες τῶν στρατιωτῶν άποτολμήσωσιν έξαρπάζειν τὸν Φύτωνα, παυσάμενος της τιμωρίας κατεπόντισε τον άτυχη μετά της 5 συννενείας. ούτος μέν ούν άναξίως της άρετης έκνόμοις περιέπεσε τιμωρίαις, καὶ πολλούς ἔσγε καὶ τότε τῶν Ελλήνων τοὺς άλγήσαντας την συμφοράν καὶ μετά ταῦτα ποιητάς τοὺς θρηνήσαντας τὸ τῆς περιπετείας ελεεινόν. 113. Καθ' ον δέ καιρον μάλιστα 'Ρήγιον έπολιόρκει Διονύσιος, οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὰ πέραν τῶν "Αλπεων Κελτοί τὰ στενά διελθόντες μεγάλαις δυνάμεσι κατελάβοντο την μεταξύ χώραν τοῦ τε 'Απεννίνου καὶ τῶν "Αλπεων ὀρῶν, ἐκβάλλοντες 2 τούς κατοικοθντας Τυρρηνούς. τούτους δ' ενιοί φασιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Τυρρηνία δώδεκα πόλεων ἀποικισθήναι τινές δέ φασι Πελασγούς πρό των Τρωικών έκ Θετταλίας φυγόντας τὸν ἐπὶ Δευκα-

λίωνος γενόμενον κατακλυσμόν εν τούτω τω τόπω 3 κατοικήσαι. των οὖν Κελτων κατ' εθνη διελομένων τὴν χώραν, οἱ καλούμενοι Σέννωνες ετυχον λαβόντες τὸν πορρωτάτω κείμενον τόπον² των ὀρων παρὰ θάλατταν. ὅντος δ' αὐτοῦ καυματώδους, δυσθετοῦντες ἔσπευδον μετοικήσαι, καὶ τοὺς νεω-

Tuppηνούς deleted by Vogel.
<sup>2</sup> τόπον Cluver: λόφον.

he preserved his spirit undaunted and cried out that 237 a.c. he was punished because he would not betray the city to Dionysius, and that heaven would soon visit such punishment upon Dionysius himself. The courage of the man aroused sympathy even among the soldiers of Dionysius, and some of them began to protest. Dionysius, fearing that some of the soldiers might make bold to snatch Phyton out of his hands, ceased to punish him and drowned the unfortunate man at sea together with his near of kin. So this man suffered monstrous tortures unworthy of his merits. He won many of the Greeks to grieve for him at the time and many poets to lament the sad story of his reversal of fortune thereafter.

113. At the time that Dionysius was besieging Rhegium, the Celts who had their homes in the regions beyond the Alps streamed through the passes in great strength and seized the territory that lay between the Apennine mountains and the Alps, expelling the Tyrrhenians who dwelt there. according to some, were colonists from the twelve cities of Tyrrhenia; but others state that before the Trojan War Pelasgians fled from Thessaly to escape the flood of Deucalion's time and settled in this region. Now it happened, when the Celts divided up the territory by tribes, that those known as the Sennones received the area which lay farthest from the mountains and along the sea. But since this region was scorching hot, they were distressed and eager to move; hence they armed their younger men and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> There are two other extended descriptions of the Gallic invasion of Rome, in Livy, 5.34-49 and in Plutarch, Camillus, 16-29. The account by Diodorus is by far the most reliable (cp. Beloch, Römische Geschichte, pp. 311 ff.; Schwegler-Baur, 3, pp. 234 ff.).

τέρους καθοπλίσαντες ἀπέστειλαν ζητεῖν χώραν, ἐν ἡ κατοικήσουσιν. εἰσβαλόντες οὖν εἰς Τυρρηνίαν καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες περὶ τρισμυρίους τὴν τῶν

Κλουσίνων χώραν ἐπόρθουν.

Καθ' δν δη χρόνον ό δημος ό των 'Ρωμαίων πρέσβεις απέστειλεν είς Τυρρηνίαν τούς κατασκεψομένους την στρατιάν των Κελτων. παραγενόμενοι δε οί πρέσβεις είς Κλούσιον καὶ θεωρήσαντες παράταξιν γενομένην, ανδρειότεροι μαλλον ή φρονιμώτεροι γενηθέντες παρετάξαντο τοις Κλουσίνοις 5 πρός τούς πολιορκούντας. εὐημερήσαντος δέ θατέρου των πρεσβευτών καί τινα των ένδοξοτέρων επάρχων αποκτείναντος, γνόντες οι Κελτοί τὸ γεγονός είς 'Ρώμην πρέσβεις απέστειλαν τούς έξαιτήσοντας τον πρεσβευτήν τον άδίκου πολέμου 6 προκαταρξάμενον. ή δὲ γερουσία τὸ μὲν πρῶτον επειθε τούς πρεσβευτάς των Κελτών χρήματα λαβείν περί των ήδικημένων ώς δ' οὖ προσείχον, εψηφίσαντο παραδούναι τον κατηγορούμενον. δ δέ πατήρ τοῦ μέλλοντος παραδίδοσθαι, τῶν γιλιάρχων είς ών των την ύπατικην έξουσίαν έχόντων, προεκαλέσατο την δίκην ἐπὶ τὸν δημον, καὶ δυνατὸς ών ἐπὶ τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἔπεισεν ἄκυρον ποιήσαι τὴν 7 κρίσιν της συγκλήτου. ὁ μὲν οὖν δημος ἐν¹ τοῖς έμπροσθεν χρόνοις πάντα πειθόμενος τῆ γερουσία, τότε πρώτον ήρξατο διαλύειν το κριθέν ύπο της συνκλήτου.

114. Οί δὲ τῶν Κελτῶν πρέσβεις παραγενηθέντες είς τὸ σφέτερον στρατόπεδον απήγγειλαν την των 'Ρωμαίων ἀπόκρισιν. ἐφ' ή μεγάλως άγανακτήσαντες, καὶ προσλαβόμενοι παρά τῶν όμοεθνων δύναμιν, έπ' αὐτὴν ἡπείγοντο τὴν 'Ρώμην,

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# BOOK XIV. 113, 3-114, 1

sent them out to seek a territory where they might ser ac. settle. Now they invaded Tyrrhenia, and being in number some thirty thousand they sacked the territory of the Clusini.

At this very time the Roman people sent ambassadors 1 into Tyrrhenia to spy out the army of the The ambassadors arrived at Clusium, and when they saw that a battle had been joined, with more valour than wisdom they joined the men of Clusium against their besiegers, and one of the ambassadors was successful in killing a rather important commander. When the Celts learned of this, they dispatched ambassadors to Rome to demand the person of the envoy who had thus commenced an unjust war. The senate at first sought to persuade the envoys of the Celts to accept money in satisfaction of the injury, but when they would not consider this, it voted to surrender the accused. But the father of the man to be surrendered, who was also one of the military tribuncs with consular power, appealed the judgement to the people, and since he was a man of influence among the masses, he persuaded them to void the decision of the senate. Now in the times previous to this the people had followed the senate in all matters; with this occasion they first began to rescind decisions of that body.

114. The ambassadors of the Celts returned to their camp and reported the reply of the Romans. At this they were greatly angered and, adding an army from their fellow tribesmen, they marched swiftly upon

<sup>1</sup> Three, all of the Fabian gens.
1 Quintus Fabius Ambustus.

An instance of the famous provocatio ad populum.

andded by Hertlein.

όντες πλείους των έπτακισμυρίων. οί δε χιλίαργοι των 'Ρωμαίων επί της ίδίας εξουσίας όντες, καὶ την των Κελτων έφοδον ακούοντες, απαντας τους 2 έν ήλικία καθώπλισαν. έξελθόντες δε πανδημεί καὶ διαβάντες τὸν Τίβεριν παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ήγαγον την δύναμιν σταδίους ογδοήκοντα, καὶ τῶν Γαλατών ἀπαγγελλομένων προσιέναι διέταττον τὸ 3 στρατόπεδον, τους μέν ουν ανδρειοτάτους δισμυρίους καὶ τετρακισχιλίους ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μέχρι των λόφων διέταξαν, ἐπὶ δὲ των ύψηλοτάτων λόφων τους ἀσθενεστάτους ἔστησαν. οί δὲ Κελτοί, μακράν την φάλαγγα παρεκτείνοντες, είτε κατά τύγην εξτε κατά πρόνοιαν τούς άρίστους έστησαν 4 ἐπὶ τῶν λόφων. ἄμα δ' αί σάλπιγγες παρ' ἀμφοτέροις ἐσήμαινον καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα συνήεσαν εἰς μάγην μετά πολλής κραυγής. οί δ' ἐπίλεκτοι τῶν Κελτών αντιτεταγμένοι τοις ασθενεστάτοις τών 'Ρωμαίων δαδίως αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν λόφων ἐτρέ-5 ψαντο. διόπερ τούτων άθρόων<sup>2</sup> φευγόντων πρός τους έν τῷ πεδίω 'Ρωμαίους, αι τε τάξεις ἐπεταράττοντο καὶ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐπικειμένων καταπλαγέντες ἔφευγον, τῶν δὲ πλείστων παρά τὸν ποταμόν δρμησάντων καὶ διὰ τὴν ταραχὴν ἀλλήλοις έμπιπτόντων, ούγ ύστέρουν<sup>8</sup> οἱ Κελτοὶ τοὺς ἐσχάτους ἀεὶ φονεύοντες: διὸ καὶ τὸ πεδίον ἄπαν νεκρῶν 6 κατεστρώθη. των δε φευγόντων επί τον ποταμον οί μεν ανδρειότατοι μετά των οπλων διενήχοντο, την πανοπλίαν εν ίσω και την ψυχην προτιμώντες. σφοδροῦ δὲ τοῦ ρεύματος ὄντος, τινὲς μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ 306

## BOOK XIV. 114, 1-6

Rome itself, numbering more than seventy thousand ser no. men. The military tribunes of the Romans, exercising their special power, when they heard of the advance of the Celts, armed all the men of military age. They then marched out in full force and, crossing the Tiber,1 led their troops for eighty stades along the river; and at news of the approach of the Galatians they drew up the army for battle. Their best troops, to the number of twenty-four thousand, they set in a line from the river as far as the hills and on the highest hills they stationed the weakest. The Celts deployed their troops in a long line and, whether by fortune or design, stationed their choicest troops on the hills. The trumpets on both sides sounded the charge at the same time and the armies joined in battle with great clamour. The élite troops of the Celts, who were opposed to the weakest soldiers of the Romans, easily drove them from the hills. Consequently, as these fled in masses to the Romans on the plain, the ranks were thrown into confusion and fled in dismay before the attack of the Celts. Since the bulk of the Romans fled along the river and impeded one another by reason of their disorder, the Celts were not behindhand in slaying again and again those who were last in line. Hence the entire plain was strewn with dead. Of the men who fled to the river the bravest attempted to swim across with their arms, prizing their armour as highly as their lives; but since the stream ran strong, some of them were borne down to their death

Diodorus is the only ancient writer who places this battle of the Allia on the right, and not the left, bank of the Tiber.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> δ' al Dindorf: δl. <sup>2</sup> So Dindorf: ἀθρόως.
<sup>3</sup> ὑστέρουν Reiske: ὑπηρέτουν.

βάρους των οπλων καταδυόμενοι διεφθείροντο, τινές δε μετά πολλής κακοπαθείας εφ' ίκανον διά-7 στημα παρενεχθέντες μόγις ἐσώθησαν. ἐπικειμένων δὲ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ παρά τὸν ποταμὸν πολλούς άναιρούντων, οί πλείστοι των ύπολειπομένων διπτοθντες τὰ ὅπλα διενήχοντο τὸν Τίβεριν. 115. Οι δε Κελτοί, πολλούς και παρ' αὐτόν τον ποταμόν άνηρηκότες, οὐδ' οὕτως ἀφίσταντο τῆς φιλοτιμίας, άλλ' έπὶ τους διανηχομένους ηκόντιζον. καὶ πολλών βελών ἀφιεμένων εἰς ἀθρόους τοὺς ἐν τω ποταμώ, συνέβαινε μή διαμαρτάνειν τούς βάλλοντας. όθεν οι μεν καιρίαις περιπεσόντες πληγαῖς εὐθέως ἐτελεύτων, οἱ δὲ κατατραυματιζόμενοι καὶ διά την περί το αίμα ρύσιν και σφοδρότητα τοῦ 2 δεύματος έκλυόμενοι παρεφέροντο. τοιαύτης δέ συμφοράς γενομένης περί τούς 'Ρωμαίους, οί μέν πλείστοι των διασωθέντων πόλιν Βηίους κατελάβοντο, προσφάτως ύφ' ἐαυτῶν κατεσκαμμένην,1 καὶ τόν τε τόπον ωχύρουν κατά τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ τούς έκ της φυγης σωζομένους ανελάμβανον ολίγοι δε των διανηξαμένων ανοπλοι φυγόντες είς 'Ρώμην άπήγγειλαν πάντας ἀπολωλέναι. τηλικούτων δ' άτυχημάτων ήγγελμένων τοῖς ἐν τῆ πόλει κατα-3 λελειμμένοις είς απορίαν απαντες ενέπιπτον ανθίστασθαι μέν γάρ άδύνατον είναι διελάμβανον, άπάντων των νέων ἀπολωλότων, φεύνειν δὲ μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικών ἐπικίνδυνον ἢν λίαν, τών πολεμίων έγγθη ύπαρχόντων. πολλοί μέν οθν των ίδιωτών πανοίκιοι πρός τὰς ἀστυγείτονας πόλεις έφευγον, οι δ' ἄρχοντες της πόλεως παραθαρούνοντες τὰ πλήθη προσέταττον ταχέως ἐπὶ τὸ Καπετώλιον τόν τε σίτον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων 308

by the weight of the arms, and some, after being \$87 a.c. carried along for some distance, finally and after great effort got off safe. But since the enemy pressed them hard and was making a great slaughter along the river, most of the survivors threw away their arms and swam across the Tiber.

115. The Celts, though they had slain great numbers on the bank of the river, nevertheless did not desist from the zest for glory but showered javelins upon the swimmers; and since many missiles were hurled and men were massed in the river, those who threw did not miss their mark. So it was that some died at once from mortal blows, and others, who were wounded only, were carried off unconscious because of loss of blood and the swift current. When such disaster befell, the greater part of the Romans who escaped occupied the city of Veii, which had lately been razed by them, fortified the place as well as they could, and received the survivors of the rout. A few of those who had swum the river fled without their arms to Rome and reported that the whole army had perished. When word of such misfortunes as we have described was brought to those who had been left behind in the city, everyone fell into despair; for they saw no possibility of resistance, now that all their youth had perished, and to flee with their children and wives was fraught with the greatest danger since the enemy were close at hand. Now many private citizens fled with their households to neighbouring cities, but the city magistrates, encouraging the populace, issued orders for them to bring speedily to the Capitoline grain and every other necessity.

So Rhodoman: κατεσκευασμένην.
 So Dindorf, γενομένων P, γεγενημένων cet.

4 ἀποκομίζειν. οδ γενηθέντος ἔγεμεν η τ' ἀκρόπολις καὶ τὸ Καπετώλιον χωρίς τῶν είς τροφήν άνηκόντων άργυρίου τε καὶ γρυσίου καὶ τῆς πολυτελεστάτης έσθητος, ώς αν έξ όλης της πόλεως είς ένα τόπον των άγαθων συνηθροισμένων, οθτοι μέν οδν τὰ δυνατὰ τῶν χρημάτων μετεκόμιζον καὶ τον προειρημένον τόπον ώχύρουν, αναστροφήν έχονδ τες τρεις ήμέρας. οί γὰρ Κελτοί τὴν μεν πρώτην ημέραν διετέλεσαν αποκόπτοντες τὰς κεφαλάς τῶν τετελευτηκότων κατά τὸ πάτριον έθος τὰς δὲ δύο παρά τὴν πόλιν στρατοπεδεύοντες, καὶ τὰ μὲν τείχη θεωρούντες έρημα, κραυγήν δε αισθόμενοι γινομένην, ην ἐποίουν οἱ τὰ χρησιμώτατα μεταφέροντες είς την ακρόπολιν, ύπελαμβανον ενεδρεύειν έαυτοις 6 τους Pωμαίους. τῆ τετάρτη δ' ἡμέρα γυόντες τὴν άλήθειαν, τάς τε πύλας έξέκοψαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν έλυμαίνοντο, χωρίς ολίγων οἰκιῶν ἐν τῷ Παλατίω. μετά δε ταῦτα προσβολάς ποιούμενοι καθ' ἡμέραν πρός όχυρους τόπους, ουθέν μέν άξιόλογον έβλαπτον τούς ύπεναντίους, έαυτῶν δὲ πολλούς ἀπέβαλλον. όμως δ' οὐκ ἀφίσταντο τῆς φιλοτιμίας, ἐλπίζοντες, έὰν μὴ βία κρατήσωσι, τῷ γε χρόνω πάντως τῶν άναγκαίων εκλιπόντων καταπονήσειν.

116. Τῶν δὲ 'Ρωμαίων ἐν τοιαύταις ταραχαῖς ὅντων, οἱ παροικοῦντες Τυρρηνοὶ μετὰ δυνάμεως άδρᾶς ἐπεπορεύοντο τὴν τῶν 'Ρωμαίων χώραν λεηλατοῦντες, καὶ πολλῶν μὲν σωμάτων, οὐκ ὀλίγης δ' ἀφελείας ἐγκρατεῖς ἐγένοντο. οἱ δ' εἰς τοὺς Βηίους τῶν 'Ρωμαίων πεφευγότες ἀπροσδοκήτως τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς ἐπιπεσόντες ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ τήν τε

<sup>1</sup> τ' and καὶ τὸ Καπετώλιον deleted by Vogel.
So Reiske: ἀνακόπτοντες.

When this had been done, both the aeropolis and 287 mo. the Capitoline were stored not only with supplies of food but with silver and gold and the costliest raiment, since the precious possessions had been gathered from over the whole city into one place. They wathered such valuables as they could and fortified the place we have mentioned during a respite of three days. For the Celts spent the first day cutting off, according to their custom, the heads of the dead.1 And for two days they lay encamped before the city, for when they saw the walls described and yet heard the noise made by those who were transferring their most useful possessions to the aeropolis, they suspected that the Romans were planning a trap for them. But on the fourth day, after they had learned the true state of affairs, they broke down the gates and pillaged the city except for a few dwellings on the Palatine. After this they delivered daily assaults on strong positions, without, however, inflicting any serious hurt upon their opponents and with the loss of many of their own troops. Nevertheless, they did not relax their ardour, expecting that, even if they did not conquer by force, they would wear down the enemy in the course of time, when the necessities of life had entirely given out.

116. While the Romans were in such throes, the neighbouring Tyrrhenians advanced and made a raid with a strong army on the territory of the Romans, capturing many prisoners and not a small amount of booty. But the Romans who had fled to Veii, falling unexpectedly upon the Tyrrhenians, put them

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 5. 29. 4-5.

<sup>&</sup>quot; ow after 8' deleted by Dindorf.

λείαν άφείλαυτο καὶ τῆς παρεμβολῆς ἐκυρίευσαν. 2 έγκρατείς δε γενόμενοι πολλών οπλων τοίς τε άνόπλοις οὖσι διέδωκαν καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας άθροίζοντες καθώπλιζον έβούλοντο γάρ τους είς τό Καπετώλιον συμπεφευγότας έκ της πολιορκίας 3 έξελέσθαι. ἀπορούντων δ' αὐτῶν ὧ τρόπω δηλώσειαν τοις συγκεκλειμένοις διά τὸ τους Κελτους μεγάλαις δυνάμεσι περιστρατοπεδεύειν, Κομίνιός τις Πόντιος υπέσχετο παραθαρρύνειν τους έν τω 4 Καπετωλίω. δρμήσας οὖν μόνος καὶ διανηξάμενος νυκτός τὸν ποταμόν, ἔλαθε προσελθών τινα πέτραν τοῦ Καπετωλίου δύσβατον, καὶ ταύτη μόγις έαυτὸν έλκύσας έδήλωσε τοις εν τώ Καπετωλίω περί των συνηθροισμένων είς Βηίους και διότι καιρον τηρήσαντες επιθήσονται τοις Κελτοις. ούτος μεν ούν καταβάς ήπερ ἀνέβη καὶ διακολυμβήσας τὸν Τί-5 βεριν, είς Βηίους ἀνέστρεψεν οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ κατανοήσαντες τὰ ίχνη τοῦ προσφάτως ἀναβεβηκότος, συνετάξαντο κατά της αυτης πέτρας άναβήναι νυκτός. διὸ καὶ περὶ μέσας νύκτας οἱ μὲν φύλακες παρερραθυμηκότες ήσαν της φυλακής διά την οχυρότητα του τόπου, των δε Κελτων τινες κατά 6 της πέτρας προσανέβησαν. τους μεν ούν φύλακας έλαθον, χήνες δ' ίεροι τής "Ηρας τρεφόμενοι και θεωρήσαντες αναβαίνοντας κραυγήν εποίουν. συνδραμόντων δε των φυλάκων επί τον τόπον, οθτοι μεν καταπλαγέντες οὐκ ετόλμων προσελθεῖν, Μάρκος δέ τις Μάλλιος, ενδοξος ανήρ, εκβοηθήσας1 έπὶ τὸν τόπον τῷ μὲν ξίφει τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ προσαναβαίνοντος ἀπέκοψε, τῷ δὲ θυρεῷ πατάξας εἰς τὸ 7 στήθος ἀπεκύλισεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας. παραπλησίως δέ καὶ τοῦ δευτέρου προσαναβαίνοντος 312

to flight, took back the booty, and captured their ser ac. camp. Having got possession of arms in abundance, they distributed them among the unarmed, and they also gathered men from the countryside and armed them, since they intended to relieve the siege of the soldiers who had taken refuge on the Capitoline. While they were at a loss how they might reveal their plans to the besieged, since the Celts had surrounded them with strong forces, a certain Cominius Pontius undertook to get the cheerful news to the men on the Capitoline. Starting out alone and swimming the river by night, he got unseen to a cliff of the Capitoline that was hard to climb and, hauling himself up it with difficulty, told the soldiers on the Capitoline about the troops that had been collected in Veii and how they were watching for an opportunity and would attack the Celts. Then, descending by the way he had mounted and swimming the Tiber, he returned to Veii. The Celts, when they observed the tracks of one who had recently climbed up, made plans to ascend at night by the same cliff. Consequently about the middle of the night, while the guards were neglectful of their watch because of the strength of the place, some Celts started an ascent of the cliff. They escaped detection by the guards, but the sacred geese of Hera, which were kept there, noticed the climbers and set up a cackling. The guards rushed to the place and the Celts deterred did not dare proceed farther. A certain Marcus Mallius, a man held in high esteem, rushing to the defence of the place, cut off the hand of the climber with his sword and, striking him on the breast with his shield, rolled him from the cliff. In like manner the second climber

So Stephanus: defonoas.

απολομένου, οἱ λοιποὶ ταχέως πάντες ἔφυγον· άπορρώγος δε της πέτρας ούσης απαντες κατακρημνισθέντες ετελεύτησαν. διόπερ πρεσβευομένων των 'Ρωμαίων περί διαλύσεως, ἐπείσθησαν χιλίας λαβόντες λίτρας χρυσίου την πόλιν εκλιπείν

καί ἐκ τῆς 'Ρωμαίων χώρας ἀπαλλαγῆναι.

8 'Ρωμαΐοι δέ, των μεν οἰκιων κατεσκαμμένων, των δε πλείστων πολιτών απολωλότων, έδωκαν εξουσίαν τῷ βουλομένω καθ' ὃν προήρηται τόπον οικίαν οικοδομείν, και δημοσίας κεραμίδας έχορή-9 γουν, αι μέχρι του νυν πολιτικαί καλούνται. άπάντων οθν πρός την ίδιαν προαίρεσιν οἰκοδομούντων, συνέβη τὰς κατὰ πόλιν όδοὺς στενὰς γενέσθαι καὶ καμπάς έχούσας διόπερ υστερον αυξηθέντες ουκ ηδυνήθησαν εύθείας ποιήσαι τὰς όδούς. λέγουσι δέ τινες καὶ διότι τὸν χρυσοῦν κόσμον αἱ γυναῖκες είς την κοινην σωτηρίαν είσενέγκασαι ταύτης έτυχον παρά τοῦ δήμου τιμης, ωστ' έξουσίαν έγειν έφ' άρμάτων όχεισθαι κατά την πόλιν.

117. Ταπεινών δ' όντων των 'Ρωμαίων διά την προειρημένην συμφοράν, οι Οὐόλσκοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον εξήνεγκαν. οι μεν οθν χιλιαρχοι των 'Ρωμαίων καταγράψαντες στρατιώτας, καὶ προαγαγόντες την δύναμιν είς υπαιθρον, έν τω καλουμένω Μαρκίω κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, ἀπέχοντες ἀπὸ 2 Ρώμης σταδίους διακοσίους. των δε Οὐόλσκων μετά μείζονος στρατιάς αντικαθημένων καὶ τῆ παρεμβολή προσβαλλόντων, οί κατά την 'Ρώμην φοβηθέντες ύπερ των εν τω στρατοπέδω, κατέστη-

3 σαν αὐτοκράτορα μέν Μάρκον Φούριον . . . οὖτοι

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The famous Marcus Furius Camillus. The name of his 314

met his death, whereupon the rest all quickly turned set so. in flight. But since the cliff was precipitous they were all hurled headlong and perished. As a result of this, when the Romans sunt ambassadors to negotiate a peace, they were persuaded, upon receipt of one thousand pounds of gold, to leave the city and to

withdraw from Roman territory.

The Romans, now that their houses had been razed to the ground and the majority of their citizens slain, gave permission to anyone who wished to build a home in any place he chose, and supplied him at state expense with roof-tiles; and up to the present time these are known as "public tiles." Since every man naturally built his home where it suited his faney, the result was that the streets of the city were narrow and crooked; consequently, when the population increased in later days, it was impossible to straighten the streets. Some also say that the Roman matrons, because they contributed their gold ornaments to the common safety, received from the people as a reward the right to ride through the city in chariots.

117. While the Romans were in a weakened condition because of the misfortune we have described, the Volscians went to war against them. Accordingly the Roman military tribunes enrolled soldiers, took the field with their army, and pitched camp on the Campus Martius, as it is called, two hundred stades distant from Rome. Since the Volscians lay over against them with a larger force and were assaulting the camp, the citizens in Rome, fearing for the safety of those in the encampment, appointed Marcus Furius dictator.<sup>1</sup> . . . These armed all the men of military

master of horse, C. Servilius Ahala (Livy, 6, 9, 8-6), has slipped from the taxt.

δὲ πάντας τοὺς ἐν ἡλικία καθοπλίσαντες νυκτὸς ἐξῆλθον, καὶ καταλαβόντες ἄμ' ἡμέρα τοὺς Οὐόλσκους τῆ παρεμβολῆ προσμαχομένους, ἐπιφανέντες κατὰ νώτου ραδίως ἐτρέψαντο. ἐξελθόντων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς, εἰς μέσον ἀποληφθέντες οἱ Οὐόλσκοι σχεδὸν ἄπαντες κατεκόπησαν. διόπερ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ἰσχυροὶ δοκοῦντες εἶναι διὰ τὴν συμφορὰν ταύτην ἀσθενέστατοι τῶν περιοικούντων ἐθνῶν ἐγενήθησαν.

Μετά δὲ τὴν μάχην ἀκούσας δ αὐτοκράτωρ πορθεῖσθαι Βώλας¹ ὑπὸ Αἰκουλανῶν, τῶν νῦν Αἰκίκλων καλουμένων, ἀγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν τοὺς πλείστους τῶν πολιορκούντων ἀνεῖλεν. ἐκεῖθεν δ᾽ ἀνέζευξεν εἰς Σουτριανήν, οὖσαν ἀποικίαν, ἢν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ βία κατειλήφεισαν. προσπεσὼν οὖν ἄφνω τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀνεῖλε, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἀνέσωσε τοῖς Σουτριαίοις.

5 Τῶν δ' ἀπεληλυθότων Γαλατῶν ἀπὸ 'Ρώμης Οὐεάσκιον τὴν πόλιν σύμμαχον οὖσαν 'Ρωμαίων πορθούντων, ἐπιθέμενος αὐτοῖς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποκτείνας τῆς ἀποσκευῆς πάσης ἐκυρίευσεν, ἐν ἢ καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ἢν ὅ εἰλήφεισαν εἰς 'Ρώμην' καὶ σχεδὸν ἄπαντα τὰ διηρπασμένα 6 κατὰ τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἄλωσιν. τοσαῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος διὰ τὸν φθόνον τῶν δημάρχων ἐκωλύθη θρίαμβον καταγαγεῖν. ἔνιοι δέ φασιν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Τούσκων θρίαμβον ἀγαγεῖν ἐπὶ λευκοῦ τεθρίππου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δυσὶν ὕστερον ἔτεσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου

<sup>1</sup> πόλω after Βώλας deleted by Vogel.

#### BOOK XIV, 117, 3-6

age and marched out during the night. At day-break 307 a.c. they caught the Volscians as they were assaulting the camp, and appearing on their rear easily put them to flight. When the troops in the camp then sallied forth, the Volscians were caught in the middle and cut down almost to a man. Thus a people that passed for powerful in former days was by this disaster reduced to the weakest among the neighbouring tribes.

After the battle the dictator, on hearing that Bola was being besieged by the Aeculani, who are now called the Aequicoli, led forth his troops and slew most of the besieging army. From here he marched to the territory of Sutrium, a Roman colony, which the Tyrrhenians had forcibly occupied. Falling unexpectedly upon the Tyrrhenians, he slew many of them and recovered the city for the people of Sutrium.

The Gauls on their way from Rome laid siege to the city of Veascium which was an ally of the Romans. The dictator attacked them, slew the larger number of them, and got possession of all their baggage, included in which was the gold which they had received for Rome and practically all the booty which they had gathered in the seizure of the city. Despite the accomplishment of such great deeds, envy on the part of the tribunes prevented his celebrating a triumph. There are some, however, who state that he celebrated a triumph for his victory over the Tuscans in a chariot drawn by four white horses, for which the people two years later fined him a large

## Otherwise the Aequi.

<sup>\*</sup> δ εἰλήφεισω εἰς 'Ρώμην deleted by Vogel; Dindorf deletes εἰς 'Ρώμην; Post suggests εἰς 'Ρώμης λύτρωοιν.

πολλοῖς χρήμασι καταδικασθήναι περὶ οῦ κατὰ 7 τους οἰκείους χρόνους ἐπιμνησθησόμεθα. οί δ' είς την 'Ιαπυγίαν των Κελτων έληλυθότες ανέστρεψαν διά της των 'Ρωμαίων χώρας και μετ' ολίγον υπό Κερίων επιβουλευθέντες νυκτός απαντες κατεκό-

πησαν έν τῷ Τραυσίῳ πεδίῳ.

8 Καλλισθένης δ' ὁ ἱστοριογράφος¹ ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τούτον τον ενιαυτόν γενομένης είρηνης τοίς Ελλησι πρὸς ᾿Αρταξέρξην τὸν τῶν Περσῶν βασιλέα τὴν ιστορίαν ήρκται γράφειν διελθών δε τριακονταετή χρόνον ἔγραψε μὲν βύβλους δέκα, τὴν δὲ τελευταίαν κατέπαυσε της συντάξεως είς την ύπο του Φιλομήλου<sup>ε</sup> τοῦ Φωκέως κατάληψιν τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς 9 ίεροῦ. ήμεις δ' ἐπεὶ πάρεσμεν ἐπὶ τὴν γενομένην τοις "Ελλησιν εἰρήνην πρὸς 'Αρταξέρξην καὶ τὸν της 'Ρώμης ύπο Γαλατών κίνδυνον, κατά την έν άρχη πρόθεσιν τοῦτο τέλος ποιησόμεθα τησδε της Βίβλου.

1 την των Έλληνων σύνταξιν after Ιστοριογράφος deleted by Dindorf.

\* So Scaliger: μήλου.

3 τοῦτο Hertlein : τοῦτο τό.

## BOOK XIV. 117. 6-9

sum of money. But we shall recur to this in the 207 n.c. appropriate period of time. Those Celts who had passed into Iapygia turned back through the territory of the Romans; but soon thereafter the Cerii made a crafty attack on them by night and cut all

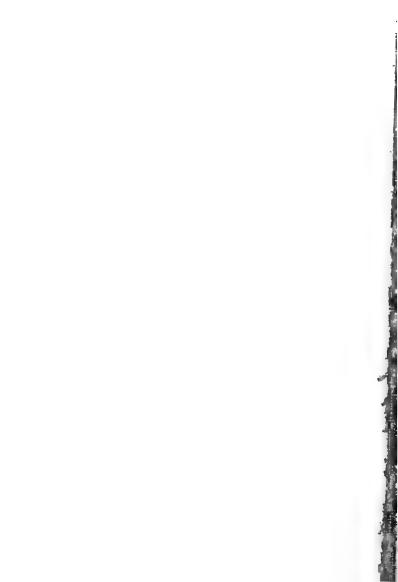
of them to pieces in the Trausian Plain.

The historian Callisthenes began his history with the peace of this year between the Greeks and Artaxerxes, the King of the Persians. His account embraced a period of thirty years in ten Books and he closed the last Book of his history with the seizure of the Temple of Delphi by Philomelus the Phoeian. But for our part, since we have arrived at the peace between the Greeks and Artaxerxes, and at the threat to Rome offered by the Gauls, we shall make this the end of this Book, as we proposed at the beginning.

1 There is no later mention of this story.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Callisthenes of Olynthus was better known for his history of Alexander the Great, whom he accompanied on his campaign until he lost the king's favour and was executed shortly after 887 n.c.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. chap. 9, 4,



# BOOK XV

# Τάδε ένεστιν εν τη πεντεκαιδεκάτη των Διοδώρου βίβλων

'Ως Πέρσαι Εὐαγόραν έν τη Κύπρω διεπολέμησαν.

'Ως Λακεδαιμόνιοι παρά τὰς κοινὰς δμολογίας Μαντινεῖς μετώκισαν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος.

Περί των Διονικτίου του τυρώννου ποιημώτων.

Περί της Τερεβάζου συλλήψεως και της άπολίστως αύτου.

Περὶ τοῦ Γλῶι θανάτου καὶ τῆς 'Ορόντου καταγνώσεως.

'Ως 'Αμύντας καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρίος 'Ολυνθίωυς'

έπολέμησαν.

\*Ως Λακεδαιμόνιοι την Καδμείαν κατελιίβοντο.

'Πς τὰς 'Ελληνίδας πόλεις παρά τὰς συνθήκας κατεδουλώσαντο.

Κτίσις Φάρου νήσου κατά τον 'Αδρίαν.

Διονυσίου στρατεία είς την Τυρρηνίαν και σύλησις τοῦ ίεροῦ.

Στρατεία Διονυσίου έπὶ Καρχηδονίους, καὶ νίκη καὶ

Prru.

'Ως θηβαίοι την Καδμείαν ανεκτήσαντο."

'Ως Καρχηδόνιοι λοιμική νόσφ περιπεσόντες έκινδύνεισαν.

So Wesseling: Γαῶ P, Γαὼ cet.
 So Wesseling: ᾿Λθηναίους.
 So Wesseling: ἀπεκτήσαντο.

# CONTENTS OF THE FIFTEENTH BOOK OF DIODORUS

How the Persians fought against Evagoras in

Cyprus (chaps. 2-1, 8-9).

How the Lacedaemonians, contrary to the common agreements, deported the Mantinelans from their native land (chaps. 5, 12).

On the poems of Dionysius the tyrant (chaps. 6-7). On the arrest of Tiribazus and his acquittal (chaps.

8, 10-11).

On the death of Glos and the condemnation of

Orontes (chaps. 11, 18).

How Amyntas and the Lacedaemonians made war upon the Olynthians (chaps. 19, 21-23).

How the Lacedaemonians seized the Cadmeia

(chap. 20).

How they enslaved the Greek cities contrary to

the covenants (chap. 23).

The settlement of the island of Pharos in the Adriatic (chap. 13).

The campaign of Dionysius against Tyrrhenia and

the plundering of the temple (chap. 14).

The campaign of Dionysius against the Carthaginians; his victory and defeat (chaps. 15-17).

How the Thebans recovered the Cadmeia (chaps.

25-27).

How the Carthaginians were endangered when afflicted by a plague (chap. 24).

Περὶ τοῦ Βοιωτικοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν πραχθέντων ἐν αὐτῷ.

Τριβαλλών στρατεία έπὶ "Αβδηρα.

Στρατεία Περσών έπ' Αίγυπτου.

'Ως Θηβαίοι Λακεδαιμονίους επιψανεστάτη μάχη νικήσαντες εν Λεύκτροις άντεποιήσαντο της των 'Ελλήνων ήγεμονίας.

Τὰ πραχθέντα θηβαίοις κατά τὰς εἰς Πελοπόννησον εΙσβολάς.

Περί της 'Ιφικράτους άγωγης και των εθρημένων ιπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὰς στρατείας.

Στρατεία Λακεδαιμονίων έπλ Κόρκυραν.

Περί τοῦ γενομένου σεισμοῦ καὶ κατακλιστμοῦ περί την Πελοπόννησον καὶ τῆς φανείσης ἐν υἰψανῷ λαμπάδος.

'Ως παρά τοις 'Αργείοις έγένετο πολίς φώνος ὁ κληθείς σκυταλισμός.

Περί Ίασονος τοῦ Φερών τυράννου καὶ τῶν διαδύχων αὐτοῦ.

Μεσσήνης συνοικισμός έπο Θηβαίων.

Erparela Bouwrŵv els Gerraliav.

#### BOOK XV

On the Bocotian War and the events connected with it (chaps. 28-35).

The campaign of the Triballi against Abdera (chap.

36).

The campaign of the Persians against Egypt

(chaps. 41-43).

How the Thebans defeated the Lacedaemonians in the most famous battle of Leuctra and laid claim to the supremacy of Greece (chaps. 50-56).

The accomplishments of the Thebans during their invasions of the Peloponnesus (chaps, 62-66, 69, 75,

82-88 passim).

On the system of training of Iphlerates and his

discoveries in the art of war (chap. 44).

The campaign of the Lacedaemonians against

Corcyra (chaps. 46-47).

On the carthquake and inundation that took place in the Pelopounesus and the torch that appeared in the heavens (chaps. 48-50).

How there took place among the Argives a great slaughter which was called the reign of club-law

(chaps. 57-58).

On Jason, the tyrant of Pherae, and his successors

(chaps. 57, 60, 80, 95).

The synoccismos of Messene by the Thebans (chaps.

66-67).

The campaign of the Boeotians against Thessaly (chap. 67).

## ΒΙΒΛΟΣ ΠΕΝΤΕΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΗ

1. Παρ' όλην την πραγματείαν εἰωθότες χρησθαι τη συνήθει της ίστορίας παρρησία, και τοίς μέν άγαθοις άνδράσιν επί των καλών έργων τον δίκαιον επιλέγειν επαινον, τους δε φαύλους, σταν εξαμαρτάνωσιν, άξιοθν δικαίας επιτιμήσεως, διά τοθ τοιούτου τρόπου νομίζομεν τούς μεν εδ πεφυκύτας πρός άρετην τῷ διὰ τῆς δόξης άθανατισμῷ προτρέψεσθαι ταις καλλίσταις έγχειρείν πράξεσι, τούς δέ τήν εναντίαν έχοντας διάθεσιν ταις άρμοττούσαις βλασφημίαις αποτρέψειν της επί την κακίαν όρμης. 2 διο και τῆ γραφη παρόντες ἐπ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους, εν οίς Λακεδαιμόνιοι περί Λεύκτρα παραδόξως ήττηθέντες μεγάλη περιέπεσον συμφορά, καὶ πάλιν περί Μαντίνειαν πταίσαντες άνελπίστως απέβαλον την των Ελλήνων ήγεμονίαν, ήγούμεθα δείν την ύπόστασιν της γραφής διαφυλάττειν και την άρμόττουσαν επιτίμησιν τοις Λακεδαιμονίοις ποιήσασθαι.

Τίς γὰρ αν οὐχ ἡγήσαιτο κατηγορίας αὐτούς άξίους ὑπάρχειν, οἴτινες παρὰ τῶν προγόνων παραλαβόντες ἡγεμονίαν κάλλιστα τεθεμελιωμένην, καὶ ταύτην διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν προγόνων διαφυλαχθεῖσαν ἔτη πλείω τῶν πεντακοσίων, οἱ τότε Λακεδαιμόνιοι διὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀβουλίαν καταλυθεῖσαν ἐπείδον; οὐκ ἀλόγως οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρὸ αὐτῶν βε-

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### BOOK XV

1. Throughout our entire treatise our practice has been to employ the customary freedom of speech enjoyed by history, and we have added just praise of good men for their fair deeds and meted out just censure upon bad men whenever they did wrong. By this means, as we believe, we shall lead men whose nature fortunately inclines them to virtue to undertake, because of the immortality fame accords them, the fairest deeds, whereas by appropriate obloquies we shall turn men of the opposite character from their impulse to evil. Consequently, since we have come in our writing to the period when the Lacedaemonians fell upon deep distress in their unexpected defeat at Leuetra, and again in their unlooked-for repulse at Mantineia lost the supremacy over the Greeks, we believe that we should maintain the principle we have set for our writing and set forth the appropriate censure of the Lacedaemonians.

For who would not judge men to be deserving of accusation who had received from their ancestors a supremacy with such firm foundations and that too preserved by the high spirit of their ancestors for over five hundred years, and now beheld it, as the Lacedaemonians of that time did, overthrown by their own folly? And this is easy to understand. For the men who had lived before them won the glory

βιωκότες πολλοίς πόνοις και μεγάλοις κινδύνοις την τηλικαύτην κατεκτήσαντο δόξαν, επιεικώς καί φιλανθρώπως προσφερόμενοι τοις υποτεταγμένοις. οί δε μεταγενέστεροι βιαίως και χαλεπώς χρώμενοι τοις συμμάχοις, έτι δε πολέμους άδίκους καὶ ύπερηφάνους ενιστάμενοι πρός τους "Ελληνας, ούκ άλόγως ἀπέβαλον την άρχην διὰ τὰς ίδίας άβουλίας. 4 εν γάρ ταις συμφοραίς αὐτῶν τὸ μίσος τῶν ἀδικουμένων έλαβε καιρον αμύνασθαι τους προηδικηκότας, καὶ τοῖς ἐκ προγόνων ἀνικήτοις γεγονόσι τοσαύτη καταφρόνησις επηκολούθησεν όσην είκός έστι γενέσθαι κατά των άναιρούντων τὰς των προγόνων 5 άρετάς. τοιγαρούν Θηβαίοι μέν οι πρότερον επί πολλάς γενεάς τοις κρείττοσιν ύποτεταγμένοι, τότε τούτους ανελπίστως νικήσαντες ήγεμόνες κατέστησαν των Έλληνων, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δε μετά την άφαίρεσιν της ήγεμονίας ουδέποτ' έδυνήθησαν άνα-

λαβείν το των προγόνων άξίωμα.

Ήμεῖς δὲ τούτοις ἀρκούντως ἐπιτετιμηκότες ἐπὶ τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς ἱστορίας μεταβησόμεθα προδιορίσαντες τοὺς οἰκείους τῆ γραφῆ χρόνους. ἡ μὲν οὖν πρὸ ταύτης βύβλος, οὖσα τῆς ὅλης συντάξεως τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη, τὸ τέλος ἔσχε τῶν πράξεων εἰς τὸν Ἡηγίνων ἀνδραποδισμὸν ὑπὸ Διονυσίου καὶ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Ῥώμης ὑπὸ Γαλατῶν, ῆτις ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸν προηγούμενον ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς Περσῶν στρατείας εἰς Κύπρον ἐπὶ Εὐαγόραν τὸν βασιλέα ἐν ταύτη δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ πολέμου ποιησάμενοι καταλήξομεν ἐπὶ τὸν προηγούμενον ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς Φιλίππου τοῦ ᾿Αμύντου βασιλείας.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> So Reiske: house.

\* rourous Vogel, rous P Peir., rous Aansauuoulous cet.

they had by many labours and great struggles, treating their subjects the while fairly and humanely; but their successors used their allies roughly and harshly, stirring up, besides, unjust and insolent wars against the Greeks, and so it is quite to be understood that they lost their rule because of their own acts of folly. For the hatred of those they had wronged found in their disasters an opportunity to retaliate upon their aggressors, and they who had been unconquered from their ancestors' time were now attended by such contempt as, it stands to reason, must befall those who obliterate the virtues that characterized This explains why the Thebans, their ancestors. who for many generations had been subjects of their superiors, when they defeated them to everyone's surprise, became supreme among the Greeks, but the Lacedaemonians, when once they had lost the supremacy, were never at any time able to recover the high position enjoyed by their ancestors.

Now that we have sufficiently censured the Lace-daemonians, we shall in turn pass on to the further course of our history, after we have first set the time-limits of this section. The preceding Book, which is the fourteenth of our narrative, closed with the events concerned with the enslaving of the Rhegians by Dionysius and the capture of Rome by the Gauls, which took place in the year preceding the campaign of the Persians in Cyprus against Evagoras the king. In this Book we shall begin with this war and close with the year preceding the reign of Philip the son

of Amyntas.1

The book covers the years 386-361 a.c.

<sup>\*</sup> So Wesseling: τοὺς συνεχεῖς.

\* προδιορίσωντες τοὺς οἰκείους Wesseling (12. 8. 8): πρός.

2. Έπ' ἄρχοντος γὰρ 'Αθήνησι Μυστιχίδου 'Ρωμαΐοι μέν αντί των υπάτων χιλιάρχους τρείς κατέστησαν, Μάρκον Φούριον, έτι δε Γάιον και Αίμίλιον, έπι δε τούτων Αρταξέρξης ο των Περσων βασιλεύς εστράτευσεν επ' Ευαγόραν τον Κύπρου βασιλέα. πολύν δε χρόνον ασχοληθείς περί τας είς τον πόλεμον παρασκευάς συνεστήσατο δύναμιν ναυτικήν τε καὶ πεζήν μεγάλην το μέν γάρ πεζον στράτευμα μυριάδων ήν τριάκοντα σύν ίππεθσι. τριήρεις δε κατεσκεύασε πλείους των τριακοσίων. 2 στρατηγούς δ' ἀπέδειζε τῆς πεζῆς δυνάμεως 'Ορόντην κηδεστήν, της δε ναυτικής Τιρίβαζον, ανδρα μεγάλης ἀποδοχής τυγχάνοντα παρά τοῖς Πέρσαις. ούτοι δέ παραλαβόντες τας δυνάμεις έν Φωκαία καὶ Κύμη κατήντησαν εἰς Κιλικίαν, καὶ περαιωθέντες είς Κύπρον ένεργως διώκουν τον πόλεμον.

3 'O δ' Εὐαγόρας πρός μὲν τὸν "Ακοριν τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα, πολέμιον ὅντα Περσῶν, συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσατο καὶ δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον παρ' αὐτοῦ προσελάβετο, παρ' Ἑκατόμνου δὲ τοῦ Καρίας δυνάστου, λάθρα συμπράττοντος αὐτῷ, χρημάτων ἔλαβε πλῆθος εἰς διατροφὴν ξενικῶν δυνάμεων ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντας πρὸς Πέρσας, τοὺς μὲν λαθραίως, τοὺς δὲ καὶ φανερῶς ἐπεσπάσατο κοινωνήσοντας τοῦ Περσικοῦ 4 πολέμου. ἐκυρίευε δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὴν Κύπρον τῶν πόλεων σχεδόν τι πασῶν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Φοινίκην Τύρου καὶ τινων ἐτέρων. εἰχε δὲ τριήρεις μὲν ἐνενήκοντα, καὶ τούτων ὑπῆρχον Τύριαι μὰν εἰκοσι, Κύπριαι δ' ἐβδομήκοντα, στρατιώτας δ' ἰδίους μὲν

έξακισχιλίους, παρά δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πολλῷ τού2 So Dindorf: πελικέν.

2. When Mystichides was archon in Athens, the 3% B.C. Romans elected in place of consuls three military tribunes, Marcus Furius, Gaius, and Aemilius. This year Artaxerxes, the King of the Persians, made war upon Evagoras, the king of Cyprus. He busied himself for a long time with the preparations for the war and gathered a large armament, both naval and land; his land force consisted of three hundred thousand men including cavalry, and he equipped more than three hundred triremes. As commanders he chose for the land force his brother-in-law Orontes, and for the naval Tiribazus, a man who was held in high favour among the Persians. These commanders took over the armaments in Phocaea and Cyme, repaired to Cilicia, and passed over to Cyprus, where they prosecuted the war with vigour.

Evagoras made an alliance with Acoris, the king of the Egyptians, who was an enemy of the Persians, and received a strong force from him, and from Hecatomnus, the lord of Caria, who was secretly co-operating with him, he got a large sum of money to support his mercenary troops. Likewise he drew on such others to join in the war with Persia as were at odds with the Persians, either secretly or openly. He was master of practically all the cities of Cyprus, and of Tyre and some others in Phoenicia. He also had ninety triremes, of which twenty were Tyrian and seventy were Cyprian, six thousand soldiers of his own subjects, and many more than this number

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The proper spelling is Hacori.

πρὸς after καὶ deleted by Wesseling.
 So Dindorf: πλέον PA, τὸ πλέον cet.

των πλείους. πρός δε τούτοις μισθοφόρους πολλούς έξενολόγει, έχων χρημάτων δαψίλειαν. έπεμψε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ τῶν ᾿Αράβων¹ βασιλεὺς στρατιώτας οὐκ δλίγους καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς οἱ ἐν ὑποψίαις ὅντες τῷ

τών Περσών βασιλεί.

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8. Ούτος μέν ούν τοσαύτας άφορμας έχων τεθαρρηκότως συγκατέβαινεν είς τον πόλεμον. καί πρώτον μέν ληστρικάς έχων ναθς οθκ ολίγας έφήδρευσε ταις κομιζομέναις των πολεμίων άγοραις, και τας μέν αὐτων διέφθειρεν εν θαλάττη, τας δε διεκώλυσεν, ένίας δε άφείλατο. διο καὶ τῶν ἐμπόρων μή τολμώντων είς την Κύπρον παρακομίζειν σίτον, μεγάλων δε δυνάμεων ήθροισμένων είς την νήσον, ταχύ σιτοδεία κατέσχε το τῶν Περσῶν 2 στρατόπεδον. τῆς δ' ἀπορίας γενομένης εἰς στάσιν, οἱ μισθοφόροι τῶν Περσῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ήγεμόνας όρμήσαντες καί τινας άνελόντες ταραχής και στάσεως ενέπλησαν το στρατόπεδον. μόγις δ' οί στρατηγοί των Περσών και ό της ναυτικής δυνάμεως ήγούμενος, δνομαζόμενος δε Γλώς, κατ-3 έπαυσαν την στάσιν, πλεύσαντες δε τώ παντί στόλω και σίτου πλήθος έκ τής Κιλικίας παρακομίσαντες, πολλήν παρείχου τής τροφής δαψίλειαν. τῷ δ' Εὐαγόρα σίτου πληθος ἰκανὸν ὁ βασιλεύς "Ακορις έκ της Αιγύπτου παρεκόμισε και χρήματα 4 και την άλλην παρασκευήν ικανήν εξέπεμψεν. δ δ' Εὐαγόρας όρων έαυτὸν πολύ λειπόμενον τῆ ναυτική δυνάμει, έξήκοντα μέν ναΰς άλλας προσεπλήρωσε, πεντήκοντα δε παρά 'Ακόριδος εξ Αλγύπτου μετεπέμψατο, ώστε τὰς πάσας έχειν τριήρεις διακοσίας. ταύτας δέ κοσμήσας πρός ναυμαχίαν καταπληκτικώς, και συνεχείς διαπείρας και γυfrom his allies. In addition to these he enlisted many 388 B.O. mercenaries, since he had funds in abundance. And not a few soldiers were sent him by the king of the Arabs and by certain others of whom the King of

the Persians was suspicious.

3. Since Evagoras had such advantages, he entered the war with confidence. First, since he had not a few boats of the sort used for piracy, he lay in wait for the supplies coming to the enemy, sank some of their ships at sea, drove off others, and captured yet others. Consequently the merchants did not dare to convey food to Cyprus; and since large armaments had been gathered on the island, the army of the Persians soon suffered from lack of food and the want led to revolt, the mercenaries of the Persians attacking their officers, slaying some of them, and filling the camp with tumult and revolt. It was with difficulty that the generals of the Persians and the leader of the naval armament, known as Glos, put an end to the mutiny. Sailing off with their entire fleet, they transported a large quantity of grain from Cilicia and provided a great abundance of food. As for Evagoras, King Acoris transported an adequate supply of grain from Egypt and sent him money and adequate supplies for every other need. Evagoras, seeing that he was much inferior in naval strength, fitted out sixty additional ships and sent for fifty from Acoris in Egypt, so that he had in all two hundred triremes. These he fitted out for battle in a way to cause terror and by continued trials and drill got ready for a sea

So Rhodoman : βαρβάρων.
 So Wesseling : Γαῶ Ρ, Γαώ cet.

μνασίας ποιούμενος, ήτοιμάζετο πρός ναυμαχίαν. διό καὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στόλου παραπλέοντος είς Κίτιον, απροσδοκήτως έπιπλεύσας ταις ναυσίι 5 πολλά των Περσών επλεονέκτει. επέβαλε γάρ συντεταγμέναις ναυσίν ἐπὶ ἀσυντάκτους, καὶ προβεβουλευμένοις ανδράσι πρός απροσδοκήτους άγωνιζόμενος εὐθὺς ἐν τῆ πρώτη συστάσει τὴν νίκην προκατεσκεύασεν ἀθρόαις γὰρ ταις τριήρεσιν ἐπιπλεύσας επί διεσπαρμένας και τεταραγμένας, ας ο μεν διέφθειρεν, ας δ' έχειρούτο. όμως δέ του τε ναυάρχου των Περσών Γλώ και των άλλων ήγεμόνων γενναίως υποστάντων, έγένετο ναυμαχία καρτερά, καθ' ην ό Εθαγόρας το μέν πρώτον ύπερείχεν, υστερον δέ του Γλω μετά του βάρους επενεχθέντος και γενναίως αγωνισαμένου συνέβη φυγείν τους περί τον Ευαγόραν και πολλάς τῶν τριήρων αποβαλείν.

4. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι τῆ ναυμαχία νικήσαντες εἰς Κίτιον πόλιν ἀμφοτέρας τὰς δυνάμεις ἤθροισαν. ἐκ ταύτης δ' ὁρμώμενοι πολιορκίαν συνεστήσαντο πρὸς τῆ Σαλαμινι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπόρθουν κατὰ 2 γῆν ἄμα καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. καὶ Τιρίβαζος μὲν μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν διαβὰς εἰς Κιλικίαν, κὰκείθεν πορευθεὶς πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, τήν τε νίκην ἀπήγγειλε καὶ διοχίλια τάλαντα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀπεκόμισεν. Εὐαγόρας δὲ πρὸ μὲν τῆς ναυμαχίας παρὰ θάλατταν πεζῆ συμβαλών μέρει τῆς πεζῆς δυνάμεως προετέρησε καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον εὐθαροὴς καθειστήκει, τῆ δὲ ναυμαχία πταίσας καὶ συγ-3 κλεισθεὶς εἰς πολιορκίαν ἀθύμως εἴχεν. ὅμως δὲ κρίνας ἔχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, Πνυταγόραν μὲν τὸν υἰὸν ἀπέλιπεν ἡγεμόνα τῶν ὅλων ποιήσας ἐν τῆς 984.

### BOOK XV. 8. 4-4. 8

engagement. Consequently, when the King's fleet mone. sailed past toward Citium, he fell upon the ships unexpectedly and had a great advantage over the Persians. For he attacked with his ships in compact array ships in disorder, and since he fought with men whose plans were prepared against men unready, he at once at the first encounter won a prearranged victory. For, attacking as he did with his triremes in close order triremes that were scattered and in confusion, he sank some and captured others. Still the Persian admiral Glos and the other commanders put up a gallant resistance, and a fierce struggle developed in which at first Evagoras held the upper hand. Later, however, when Glos attacked in strong force and put up a gallant fight, the result was that Evagoras turned in flight and lost many of his triremes.

4. The Persians after their victory in the sca-fight gathered both their sea and land forces at the city of Citium. From this as their base they organized a siege of Salamis and beleaguered the city both by land and by sea. Meantime Tiribazus crossed over to Cilicia after the sea-fight and continued thence to the King, reported the victory, and brought back two thousand talents for the prosecution of the war. Before the sea-fight, Evagoras, who had fallen in with a body of the land force near the sea and defeated it, had been confident of success, but when he suffered defeat in the sea-fight and found himself besieged, he lost heart. Nevertheless, deciding to continue the war, he left his son Pnytagoras behind as supreme commander in Cyprus and himself took

<sup>1</sup> συντεταγμένους after vauel deleted by Hertlein.

So Wesseling: Πυθαγόρου.

Κύπρφ, αὐτὸς δ' ἀναλαβὼν δέκα τριήρεις νυκτὸς ἔλαθε τοὺς πολεμίους ἀκπλεύσας ἀκ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος. κομισθεὶς δ' εἰς τὴν Αίγυπτον καὶ συντυχὼν τῷ βασιλεῖ, παρεκάλεσεν αὐτὸν ἐρρωμένως ἀντέχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου καὶ κοινὸν ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν πρὸς τοὺς

Πέρσας πόλεμον.

5. "Αμα δέ τούτοις πραττομένοις Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέν έγνωσαν στρατεύειν έπὶ τὴν Μαντίνειαν, οὐδέν φροντίσαντες των γεγενημένων σπονδών, δια τοιαύτας αίτίας, προϋπαρχούσης τοις Ελλησι κοινης1 ειρήνης της έπι 'Ανταλκίδου, καθ' ήν αι πόλεις άπασαι τὰς μὲν φρουρὰς ἀπετρίψαντο, τὴν δ' αὐτονομίαν καθ' όμολογίαν παρέλαβον, Λακεδαιμόνιοι φύσει φιλαργούντες καὶ πολεμικοὶ ταῖς αἰρέσεσιν όντες, την εἰρήνην ώσπερ βαρύ φορτίον ούχ ὑπέμενον, την δέ προγεγενημένην της Έλλάδος δυναστείαν επιποθούντες μετέωροι ταις όρμαις ύπηργον 2 πρός καινοτομίαν. εύθύς ούν τάς μέν πόλεις συνετάραττον καὶ διὰ τῶν ιδίων φίλων στάσεις εγκατεσκεύαζον εν αὐταῖς, ὧν ένιαι πιθανάς ἀφορμάς αὐτοῖς παρέσχοντο τῆς ταραχῆς. ἀπολαβοῦσαι γὰρ τας αὐτονομίας λόγον ἀπήτουν παρά τῶν ἐπεστατηκότων επί της Λακεδαιμονίων ήγεμονίας πικρών δέ των έλέγχων γινομένων διά το μνησικακείν τούς δήμους, και πολλών φυγαδευομένων, απέδειξαν 3 έαυτούς βοηθούς τοῖς καταστασιαζομένοις. ύποδεχόμενοι δε τούτους και μετά δυνάμεως εκπέμποντες επί τὰς καθόδους, κατεδουλοῦντο τὸ μὲν πρώτον τας ασθενεστέρας πόλεις, μετά δε ταθτα καί 936

ten triremes, eluded the enemy, and got away from see a.c. Salamis. On arriving in Egypt he met the king and urged him to continue the war energetically and to consider the war against the Persians a common

undertaking.

5. While these events were taking place, the Lacedaemonians determined to make war upon Mantineia, without regard to the standing treaty,1 for the following reasons. The Greeks were enjoying the general peace of Antalcidas, in accordance with which all the cities had got rid of their garrisons and recovered by agreement their autonomy. The Lacedaemonians, however, who by their nature loved to command and by policy preferred war, would not tolerate the peace which they considered to be a heavy burden, and longing for their past dominance over Greece, they were poised and alert to begin a new movement. At once, then, they stirred up the cities and formed partisan groups in them with the aid of their friends, being provided in some of the cities with plausible grounds for interference. For the cities, after having recovered their autonomy, demanded an accounting of the men who had been in control under the Lacedaemonian supremacy; and since the procedure was harsh, because the people bore enmity for past injuries and many were sent into exile, the Lacedaemonians took it upon themselves to give support to the defeated faction. By receiving these men and dispatching a force with them to restore them to their homes, they at first enslaved the weaker cities, but afterward made war

Referring to the Peace of Antaleidas (Book 14, 110, 3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: τοῖς 'Ελληνικοῖς κοινῆς l'ALF; τῆς 'Ελληνικῆς κοινῆς cel.

τας αξιολογωτέρας καταπολεμούντες ύπηκόους εποίουν, οὐδε δύο έτη φυλάξαντες τας κοινας σπονδάς.

Πλησιόχωρον δ' όρωντες' οδσαν την των Μαντινέων πόλιν και πλήθουσαν ανδρών αλκίμων, ύπώπτευσαν αύτης την αύξησιν την γινομένην έκ της είρηνης, και τὰ φρονήματα των άνδρων έσπευ-4 δον ταπεινώσαι. διό και το μεν πρώτον πρέσβεις αποστείλαντες πρός την Μαντίνειαν προσέταττον τα μέν τείχη καθελείν, αὐτούς δὲ μετοικήσαι πάντας είς τὰς ἀρχαίας πέντε κώμας, εξ ών είς την Μαντίνειαν το παλαιόν συνώκησαν ούδενος δέ αύτοις προσέχοντος, δύναμιν εκπεμφαντες επολιόρ-5 κουν την πόλιν. οί δε Μαντινείς είς τας 'Αθήνας πρέσβεις αποστείλαντες ήξίουν έαυτοις βυηθήσαι. ού προαιρουμένων δε των 'Αθηναίων παραβαίνειν τας κοινάς συνθήκας, όμως καθ' αύτους υποστάντες την πολιορκίαν εύρωστως ημύνοντο τούς πολεμίους. καὶ τὰ μέν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον

καινών πολέμων άρχην ελάμβανεν.

8. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν Διονύσιος ὁ τῶν Συρακοσίων τύραννος ἀπολελυμένος τῶν πρὸς Καρχηδονίους πολέμων πολλὴν εἰρήνην καὶ σχολὴν εἰχεν. διὸ καὶ ποιήματα γράφειν ὑπεστήσατο μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τούτοις δόξαν ἔχοντας μετεπέμπετο καὶ προτιμῶν αὐτοὺς συνδιέτριβε καὶ τῶν ποιημάτων ἐπιστάτας καὶ διορθωτὰς εἰχεν. ὑπὸ δὲ τούτων διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας τοῖς πρὸς χάριν λόγοις μετεωριζόμενος ἐκαυχᾶτο πολύ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τοῖς ποιήμασιν ἢ τοῖς ἐν πολέμω κατωρθωμένοις. τῶν δὲ συνόντων αὐτῷ ποιητῶν Φιλόξενος ὁ διθυραμ-

### BOOK XV. 5. 8--6. 2

on and forced the more important cities to submit, 856 m.c. having preserved the general peace no longer than

two years.

Seeing that the city of the Mantineians lay upon their borders and was full of valiant men, the Lacedaemonians were jealous of its growth which had resulted from the peace and were bent on humbling the pride of its citizens. First of all, therefore, they dispatched ambassadors to Mantineia, commanding them to destroy their walls and all of them to remove to the original five villages from which they had of old united to form Mantineia. When no one paid any attention to them, they sent out an army and laid siege to the city. The Mantineians dispatched ambassadors to Athens, asking for aid. When the Athenians did not choose to make a breach of the common peace, the Mantineians none the less withstood the siege on their own account and stoutly resisted the enemy. In this way, then, fresh wars got a start in Greece.

6. In Sicily Dionysius, the tyrant of the Syracusans, now that he was relieved of wars with the Carthaginians, enjoyed great peace and leisure. Consequently he devoted himself with much seriousness to the writing of poetry, and summoning men of repute in this line, he accorded them special honours and resorted to them, making use of them as instructors and revisers of his poems. Elated by the flattering words with which these men repaid his benefactions, Dionysius boasted far more of his poems than of his successes in war. Among the poets in his company was Philoxenus the writer of dithyrambs,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Of Cythera.

<sup>1</sup> operes added by Wurm.

βοποιός, μέγιστον έχων άξίωμα κατά την κατασκευήν του ίδίου ποιήματος, κατά το συμπόσιον αναγνωσθέντων των του τυράννου ποιημάτων μοχθηρών όντων επηρωτήθη περί των ποιημάτων τίνα κρίσιν έχοι. ἀποκριναμένου δ' αὐτοῦ παρρησιωδέστερον, ο μεν τύραννος προσκόψας τοῖς ρηθείσι, καὶ καταμεμψάμενος ὅτι διὰ φθόνον ἐβλασφήμησε, προσέταξε τους υπηρέταις παραχρήμα 8 απάγειν είς τὰς λατομίας. τῆ δ' ύστεραία τῶν φίλων παρακαλούντων συγγνώμην δυθναι τῶ Φιλοξένω, διαλλαγείς αὐτῷ πάλιν τοὺς αὐτοὺς παρέλαβεν έπὶ τὸ συμπόσιον. προβαίνοντος δὲ τοῦ πότου, καὶ πάλιν τοθ Διονυσίου καυχωμένου περὶ τῶν ίδίων ποιημάτων, και τινας στίχους των δοκούντων έπιτετεύχθαι προενεγκαμένου, καὶ ἐπερωτώντος Ποιά τινά σοι φαίνεται τὰ ποιήματα ὑπάρχειν; άλλο μέν οὐδέν είπε, τούς δ' ύπηρέτας του Διονυσίου προσκαλεσάμενος εκέλευσεν αύτον απαγαγείν 4 είς τὰς λατομίας. τότε μέν οὖν διὰ τὴν εὐτραπελίαν των λόγων μειδιάσας ό Διονύσιος ήνεγκε την παρρησίαν, του γέλωτος την μέμψιν άμβλύ-νοντος μετ' ολίγον δε των γνωρίμων άμα καὶ τοῦ Διονυσίου παραιτουμένων την ἄκαιρον παρρησίαν, ὁ Φιλόξενος ἐπηγγείλατο παράδοξόν τινα ἐπαγγελίαν. ἔφη γὰρ διὰ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως τηρήσειν αμα καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὴν εὐδόκησιν 5 τοῦ Διονυσίου, καὶ οὐ διεψεύσθη. τοῦ γὰρ τυράννου προενεγκαμένου τινάς στίχους έχοντας έλεεινά πάθη, καὶ ἐρωτήσαντος Ποῖά τινα φαίνεται τὰ ποιήματα; είπεν Οἰκτρά, διὰ τῆς ἀμφιβολίας ἀμφότερα τηρήσας. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Διονύσιος ἐδέξατο

who enjoyed very high repute as a composer in his 250 a.c. own line. After dinner, when the compositions of the tyrant, which were wretched, had been read, he was asked what was his judgement of the poetry. When he replied with a good deal of frankness, the tyrant, offended at his words, found fault with him that he had been moved by jealousy to use scurrilous lauguage and commanded his servants to drag him off forthwith to the quarries. On the next day, however, when Philoxenus' friends made petition for a grant of pardon, Dionysius made up with him and again included the same men in his company after dinner. As the drinking advanced, again Dionysius boasted of the poetry he had written, recited some lines which he considered to be happily composed, and then asked," What do you think of the verses?" To this Philoxenus said not a word, but called Dionysius' servants and ordered them to take him away to the quarries. Now at the time Dionysius, smiling at the ready wit of the words, tolerated the freedom of speech, since the joke took the edge off the censure. But when some time later his acquaintances and Dionysius as well asked him to desist from his untimely frankness, Philoxenus made a paradoxical offer. He would, he said, in his answer both respect the truth and keep the favour of Dionysius. Nor did he fail to make his word good. For when the tyrant produced some lines that described harrowing events, and asked, "How do the verses strike you?", he replied, " Pittful !", keeping his double promise by the ambiguity. For Dionysius took the word "pitiful" as

τὰ οίκτρὰ είναι έλεεινὰ καὶ συμπαθείας πλήρη, τά δε τοιαθτα είναι ποιητών άγαθών επιτεύγματα, όθεν ώς επηνεκότα αὐτον ἀπεδέχετο οἱ δ΄ ἄλλοι την άληθινην διάνοιαν εκδεξάμενοι παν το οίκτρον

αποτεύγματος φύσιν ειρησθαι διελάμβανον.

7. Παραπλήσιον δε συνέβη και περί Πλάτωνα τον φιλοσοφον γενέσθαι. μεταπεμψάμενος γάρ τον άνδρα τοῦτον τὸ μὲν πρώτον ἀποδοχής ήξίου τῆς μεγίστης, δρών αὐτὸν παρρησίαν έχουτα άξίαν τῆς φιλοσοφίας υστερου δ' έκ τινων λόγων προσκόψας αύτω παντελώς απηλλοτριώθη, και προαγαγών είς το πρατήριον ως ανδράποδον απέδοτο μνών είκοσι. άλλά τουτον μεν οι φιλόσοφοι συνελθάντες έξηγόρασαν καὶ ἐξαπέστειλαν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδια, φιλικήν νουθεσίαν επιφθεγξάμενοι, διότι δεί τον σοφον τοις τυράννοις η ώς ηκιστα η ώς ηδιστα όμιλειν. 2 'Ο δε Διονύσιος της είς τὰ ποιήματα σπουδής

ούκ άφιστάμενος είς μεν την 'Ολυμπιακήν πανήγυριν έξαπέστειλε τους ευφωνοτάτους των ύποκριτών διαθησομένους έν τοις σχλοις μετ' ώδης τὰ ποιήματα. ούτοι δὰ τὸ μὰν πρώτον διὰ τὴν εὐφωνίαν ἐξέπληττον τοὺς ἀκούοντας, μετὰ δέ ταθτα αναθεωρήσεως γενομένης κατεφρονήθησαν 3 και πολύν άπηνέγκαντο γέλωτα. ὁ δε Διονύσιος άκούσας την των ποιημάτων καταφρόνησιν ενέπεσεν είς ὑπερβολὴν λύπης αἰεὶ δὲ μαλλον τοῦ πάθους επίτασιν λαμβάνοντος, μανιώδης διάθεσις κατέσχε την ψυχην αύτου, και φθονείν αυτώ φάσκων απαντας τους φίλους υπώπτευεν ώς επιβουλεύοντας.

πάν . . . φύσω] Post suggests παρά νό ολκτρόν άποτεύγματος φασω. <sup>2</sup> φιλόσοφαι] φίλοι Reiske, Vogel, integer. 842

signifying harrowing and deeply moving, which are Ho accurately successful effects of good poets, and therefore rated him as having approved them; the rest, however, who caught the real meaning, conceived that the word "pitiful" was only employed to suggest failure.

7. Much the same thing, as it happened, also occurred in the case of Plato the philosopher. Dionysius summoned this man to his court and at first deigned to show him the highest favour, since he saw that he practised the freedom of speech that philosophy is entitled to. But later, being offended at some of his statements, he became altogether alienated from him, exposed him in the market, and sold him as a slave for twenty minas. Those who were philosophers, however, joined together, purchased his freedom, and sent him off to Greece with the friendly admonition that a wise man should associate with tyrants either as little as possible or with the best grace possible.

Dionysius did not renounce his zeal for poetry but dispatched to the Olympic Games actors with the most pleasing voices who should present a musical performance of his poems for the assembled throng. At first their pleasing voices filled the hearers with admiration, but later, on further reflection, the reciters were despised and rewarded with laughter. Dionysius, on learning of the slight that was cast upon his poems, fell into a fit of melancholy. His condition grew constantly worse and a madness seized his mind, so that he kept saying that he was the victim of jealousy and suspected all his friends

<sup>1</sup> The saying is also attributed to Aesop (Book 9. 28).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 14, 109.

As a matter of fact Dionysius won the prize at the Lenaea with a play, the Ransom of Hector.

καὶ πέρας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο προηλθε λύττης καὶ παρακοπής, ώστε των φίλων πολλούς μεν έπι ψευδέσιν αίτιαις άνελειν, σύκ όλίγους δε και εφυγάδευσεν έν οίς ήν Φίλιστος και Λεπτίνης ο άδελφος, ανδρες διαφέροντες ανδρεία και πολλάς και μεγάλας 4 χρείας έν τοις πολέμοις αὐτῷ παρεσχημένοι. οῦτοι μέν οὖν φυγόντες εἰς Θουρίους τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ παρά τοις Ίταλιώταις μεγάλης άποδοχής τυγχάνοντες, υστερον δεηθέντος τοῦ Διονυσίου διηλλάγησαν, καὶ κατελθόντες els τὰς Συρακούσας els τήν προϋπάρξασαν εύνοιαν αποκατεστάθησαν ό δὲ Λεπτίνης έγημε την Διονυσίου θυγατέρα.

Ταθτα μέν οθυ ἐπράχθη κατὰ τοθτον τον ἐνι-

αυτόν.

8. Έπ' άρχοντος δ' 'Αθήνησι Δεξιθέου 'Ρωμαΐοι κατέστησαν ύπάτους Λεύκιον Λουκρήτιον καὶ Σερούιου Σουλπίκιου. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Εὐαγόρας μεν ό των Σαλαμινίων βασιλεύς ήκεν els Κύπρον εξ Αιγύπτου, κομίζων χρήματα παρά 'Ακόριδος του βασιλέως Αίγύπτου ελάττονα των προσδοκηθέντων. καταλαβών δε την Σαλαμίνα πολιορκουμένην ενεργώς και ύπο τών συμμάχων καταλειπόμενος, ήναγκάσθη πρεοβεύσαι περί συλ-2 λύσεως. ὁ δὲ Τιρίβαζος τῶν ὅλων ἔχων τὴν ήγεμονίαν έφησε συγχωρήσαι την σύλλυσιν, έαν Ευαγόρας εκχωρήση πασών των κατά την Κύπρον πόλεων, αὐτῆς δε μόνης τῆς Σαλαμίνος βασιλεύων τελή τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεί κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν φόρον ώρισμένον καὶ ποιή τὸ προσταττόμενον ώς δοῦλος 3 δεσπότη. δ δ' Εὐαγόρας, καίπερ βαρείας ούσης της αίρέσεως, τὰ μεν άλλα πάντα συνεχώρει, τὸ δ' ώς δούλον δεσπότη ποιείν το προσταττόμενον 344

of plotting against him. At last his frenzy and madness went so far that he siew many of his friends on
false charges, and he drove not a few into exile,
among whom were Philistus and his own brother
Leptines, men of outstanding courage who had
rendered him many important services in his wars.
These men, then, passed their banishment in Thurii
in Italy where they were cordially welcomed by the
Italian Greeks. Later, at the request of Dionysius,
they were reconciled with him and returned to Syracuse where they enjoyed his former goodwill, and
Leptines married Dionysius' daughter.

These, then, were the events of this year.

8. When Dexitheüs was archon in Athens, the ses ac. Romans elected as consuls Lucius Lucretius and Servius Sulpicius. This year Evagoras, the king of the Salaminians, arrived in Cyprus from Egypt, bringing money from Acoris, the king of Egypt, but less than he had expected. When he found that Salamis was closely besieged and that he was deserted by his allies, he was forced to discuss terms of settlement. Tiribazus, who held the supreme command, agreed to a settlement upon the conditions that Evagoras should withdraw from all the cities of Cyprus, that as king of Salamis alone he should pay the Persian King a fixed annual tribute, and that he should obey orders as slave to master. Although these were hard terms, Evagoras agreed to them all except that he refused to obey orders as slave to

So Schäfer: λύπης.

<sup>3</sup> So Dindorf : airós.

άντελεγεν, έφη δε αύτον ως βασιλέα βασιλεί δείν ύποτετάχθαι. οὐ συγχωροῦντος δὲ τοῦ Τιριβάζου, 'Πρόντης ὁ ετερος στρατηγός, φθονῶν τῆ δόξη του Τιριβάζου, γράμματα λάθρα πρὸς του Αρταξερξην 4 έπεμψε κατά τοῦ Τιριβάζου. κατηγόρει δ' αὐτοῦ πρώτον μεν ότι δυνάμενος έλειν την Σαλαμίνα τοῦτο μεν οὐ συντελεῖ, πρεσβείας δὲ προσδέχεται παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ συλλαλεῖ περὶ κοινοπραγίας, όμοίως δέ και πρός Λακεδαιμονίους συντίθεται συμμαχίαν ιδία, φίλος ων αυτών ώς και Πυθώδε τινας επεμψεν ερησομένους τον θεον περί τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως, το δε μέγιστον, στι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας των δυνάμεων ίδίους εύνοίαις κατασκευάζει, τιμαίς 5 και δωρεαίς, έτι δ' επαγγελίαις προσαγόμενος. ό δέ βασιλεύς άναγνούς την έπιστολήν και πιστεύσας ταις διαβολαις, έγραψε τῷ 'Ορόντη συλλαβείν τον Τιρίβαζον και πρός έαυτον αποστείλαι. πράξαντος το προσταχθέν, δ μεν Τιρίβαζος άναχθείς ώς τον βασιλέα και κρίσεως τυχείν άξιώσας κατά μέν το παρόν παρεδόθη είς φυλακήν, μετά δε ταυτα του βασιλέως έχοντος πόλεμον πρός Καδουσίους και την κρίσιν αναβαλλομένου, διείλ-

κετο τὰ περὶ τοῦ δικαστηρίου.
9. 'Ο δ' 'Ορόντης διαδεξάμενος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν ἐν τῆ Κύπρω δυνάμεων, καὶ τὸν Εὐαγόραν πάλιν τεθαρρηκότως όρῶν ὑπομένοντα τὴν πολιορκίαν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τῶν στρατιωτῶν χαλεπῶς ὑπομενόντων τὴν σύλληψιν τοῦ Τιριβάζου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπειθούντων καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐγκαταλειπόντων, δείσας 'Ορόντης τὸ τῆς περιστάσεως παράλογον, ἐξέπεμψε πρὸς τὸν Εὐαγόραν τοὺς δια-

1 So Dindorf : adróv.

\* So Cobet : Biav.

master, saying that he should be subject as king to 255 a.c. king. When Tiribazus would not agree to this, Orontes, who was the other general and envious of Tiribazus' high position, secretly sent letters to Artaxerxes against Tiribazus. The charges against him were first, that although he was able to take Salamis, he was not doing so, but was receiving embassies from Evagoras and conferring with him on the question of making common cause; that he was likewise concluding a private alliance with the Lacedaemonians, being their friend; that he had sent to Pytho 1 to inquire of the god regarding his plans for revolt; and, most important of all, that he was winning for himself the commanders of the troops by acts of kindness, bringing them over by honours and gifts and promises. On reading the letter the King, believing the accusations, wrote to Orontes to arrest Tiribazus and dispatch him to him. When the order had been carried out, Tiribazus, on being brought to the King, asked for a trial and for the time being was put in prison. After this the King was engaged in a war with the Cadusians and postponed the trial, and so the legal action was deferred.

9. Orontes succeeded to the command of the forces in Cyprus. But when he saw that Evagoras was again putting up a bold resistance to the siege and, furthermore, that the soldiers were angered at the arrest of Tiribazus and so were insubordinate and listless in pressing the siege, Orontes became alarmed at the surprising change in the situation. He therefore sent men to Evagoras to discuss a settlement and to urge

<sup>1</sup> The oracle at Delphi.

λεξομένους περί της συλλύσεως και κελεύσοντας συντίθεσθαι την ειρήνην, έφ' οίς εκείνος ήξίου 2 συντίθεσθαι πρός Τιρίβαζον. ὁ μέν οὖν Εὐαγόρας παραδόξως εξωσιούτο την άλωσιν, και συνέθετο την ειρήνην, ώστε βασιλεύειν της Σαλαμίνος καί τον ώρισμένον διδόναι φόρον κατ' ένιαυτόν καὶ ύπακούειν ώς βασιλεύς βασιλεί προστάττοντι. ό μέν οὖν Κυπριακός πόλεμος δεκαετής σχεδόν γεγενημένος καὶ τὸ πλέον τοῦ χρόνου περὶ παρασκευάς ἀσχοληθείς, διετή χρόνον τον έπι πασι συνεχώς πολεμηθείς τούτον τον τρόπον κατελύθη. 3 'Ο δε του στόλου την ναυαρχίαν έχων Γλώς, γεγαμηκώς του Τιριβάζου την θυγατέρα, περίφοβος ων μήποτε συνεργείν δόξας τῷ Τιριβάζω περί της ύποθέσεως τύχη τιμωρίας ύπο τοῦ βασιγέως, έγνω καινή πραγμάτων ἐπιβολή τὰ καθ' έαυτον ασφαλίζεσθαι. εὐπορών δὲ χρημάτων καὶ στρατιωτών, έτι δέ τους τριηράρχους ταις εύνοίαις ίδίους πεποιημένος, διέγνω τοῦ βασιλέως ἀφίστα-4 σθαι. εύθύς ούν πρός μεν "Ακοριν τον βασιλέα των Αίγυπτίων διαπρεσβευσάμενος συμμαχίαν συνέθετο κατά τοῦ βασιλέως, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους γράφων ἐπῆρε κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ χρημάτων πληθος επηγγέλλετο δώσειν καὶ τὰς άλλας επαγγελίας μεγάλας εποιείτο, υπισχνούμενος συμπράξειν αὐτοῖς τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ελλάδα καὶ τὴν ήγεμονίαν αὐτοῖς τὴν πάτριον συγκατασκευάσειν. δ οί δε Σπαρτιάται καὶ πάλαι μεν διεγνώκεισαν

ανακτάσθαι την ήγεμονίαν, τότε δε συνετάραττον

<sup>1</sup> So Post, dedoare Vogel: deanobras.

#### BOOK XV. 9. 1-5

him to agree to a peace on the same terms Evagoras 256 a.c. had agreed to with Tiribazus. Evagoras, then, was surprisingly able to dispel the menace of capture, and agreed to peace on the conditions that he should be king of Salamis, pay the fixed tribute annually, and obey as a king the orders of the King. So the Cyprian war, which had lasted for approximately ten years, although the larger part of the period was spent in preparations and there were in all but two years of continuous warfare, came to the end we have described.<sup>1</sup>

Glos, who had been in command of the fleet and was married to the daughter of Tiribazus, fearful that it might be thought that he had co-operated with Tiribazus in his plan and that he would be punished by the King, resolved to safeguard his position by a new project of action. Since he was well supplied with money and soldiers and had furthermore won the commanders of the triremes to himself by acts of kindness, he resolved to revolt from the King. At once, then, he sent ambassadors to Acoris, the king of the Egyptians, and concluded an alliance with him against the King. He also wrote the Lacedaemonians and incited them against the King, promising to give them a large sum of money and offering other great inducements. He pledged himself to full co-operation with them in Greece and to work with them in restoring the supremacy their fathers had exercised. Even before this the Spartans had made up their minds to recover their supremacy, and at the time were already throwing the cities into

<sup>1</sup> The war ended in 380 n.c.

<sup>\*</sup> In Schifer: fr.
\* In 31 Dindorf, in PAPK, inci out.

ήδη τὰς πόλεις καὶ πᾶσιν ὑπῆρχον φανεροὶ τὰς πόλεις καταδουλούμενοι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀδοξοῦντες ἐπὶ τῷ δοκεῖν ἐν τῆ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα συνθέσει τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ᾿Ασίαν Ἦλληνας ἐκδότους πεποιηκέναι μετεμέλοντο τοῖς πεπραγμένοις καὶ πρόφασιν εὔλογον ἐξήτουν τοῦ πρὸς τὰν ᾿Αρταξέρξην πολέμου. διόπερ ἄσμενοι συνέθεντο πρὸς

τον Γλώ την συμμαχίαν.

10. 'Αρταξέρξης δε καταλύσας τον πρός Καδουσίους πόλεμον προέθηκε κρίσιν Τιριβάζω, καλ δικαστάς τρεις απέδωκε των μάλιστα εὐδοκιμούντων παρά τοις Πέρσαις. κατά τούτους δέ τους γρόνους έτεροι δικασταί δόξαντες κακώς κρίνειν ζώντες έξεδάρησαν, και ύπερ των δικαστικών δίφρων περιταθέντων των δερμάτων επὶ τούτων εδίκαζον οἱ δικασταί, παρ' οφθαλμούς εχοντες παράδειγμα της εν τω κακώς κρίνειν τιμωρίας. 3 οί μεν ούν κατηγορούντες την επιστολήν άναγνόντες την πεμφθείσαν ύπο τοῦ 'Ορόντου, ταύτην ίκανως εφασαν έχειν προς κατηγορίαν ο δε Τιρίβαζος πρός μεν την κατά τον Ευαγόραν διαβολήν την υπ' 'Ορόντου γεγενημένην συνθήκην τον Ευαγόραν υπακούσειν ώς βασιλέα βασιλεί προήνεγκεν εαυτόν δε την ειρήνην συντεθείσθαι, ώστε ύπακούειν Εθαγόραν τῷ βασιλεῖ ὡς δοῦλον δεσπότη. περί δε των χρησμών εφησε μη χρηματίζειν τον θεὸν καθόλου περί θανάτου, και τούτου μάρτυρας παρείχετο πάντας τους παρόντας "Ελληνας. περί δε της φιλίας της πρός Λακεδαιμονίους απελογείτο.

So Vogel: εὐδοκουμένην.
 So Reiske: περιτεθέντων.
 So Hertlein: ἰκανήν.
 ἀνεγίνωσκε after διαβολήν deleted by Dindorf.

confusion and enslaving them, as was clear to all men. 1850 no. Moreover, they were in bad repute because it was generally believed that in the agreement they had made with the King they had betrayed the Greeks of Asia, and so they repented of what they had done and sought a plausible excuse for a war against Artaxerxes. Consequently they were glad to enter the alliance with Glos.

10. After Artaxerxes had concluded the war with the Cadusians, he brought up the trial of Tiribazus and assigned three of the most highly esteemed Persians as judges. At this time other judges who were believed to have been corrupt were flayed alive and their skins stretched tight on judicial benches. The judges rendered their decisions seated on these, having before their eyes an example of the punishment meted out to corrupt decisions. Now the accusers read the letter sent by Orontes and stated that it constituted sufficient cause for accusation. Tiribazus, with respect to the charge in connection with Evagoras, presented the agreement made by Orontes that Evagoras should obey the King as a king, whereas he had himself agreed upon a peace on the terms that Evagoras should obey the King as a slave his master. With respect to the oracle he stated that the god as a general thing gives no response regarding death,2 and to the truth of this he invoked all the Greeks present as witnesses. As for the friendship with the Lacedaemonians, he replied

The Peace of Antaleidas (Book 14. 110. 3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Therefore he could not have inquired of the oracle about a revolt, which, if successful, would necessarily have involved the death of the King.

<sup>5</sup> συνθήκην τον Εὐαγόραν added by Rhodoman.

λέγων οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ ιδίω συμφέροντι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως λυσιτελεῖ πεποιῆσθαι τὴν φιλίαν καὶ διὰ ταύτης παρεδείκνυε τῶν μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων παρηρῆσθαι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν 'Ασίαν "Ελληνας, τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ παραδεδόσθαι ἐκδότους. ἐπὶ τελευτῆς δὲ τῆς ἀπολογίας ὑπέμνησε τοὺς δικαστὰς

ών τον βασιλέα πρότερον ήν εὐεργετηκώς.

3 Λέγεται δὲ πολλὰς μὲν καὶ ἄλλας χρείας ἐνδεδεῖχθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ, μίαν δὲ μεγίστην, ἐξ ἡς αὐτὸν θαυμασθῆναι συνέβη καὶ μέγιστον γενέσθαι φίλουκατὰ γάρ τινα κυνηγίαν ἐφ' ἄρματος ὀχουμένου τοῦ βασιλέως δύο λέοντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁρμῆσαι, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἴππων τῶν ἐν τῷ τεθρίππῳ δύο διασπάσαι, τὴν δ' όρμὴν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ποιεῖσθαι τὸν βασιλέα καθ' δν δὴ καιρὸν ἐπιφανέντα τὸν Τιρίβαζον τοὺς μὲν λέοντας ἀποκτεῖναι, τὸν δὲ βασιλέα ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων ἐξελέσθαι. ἔν τε τοῖς πολέμοις¹ ἀνδρεία διενεγκεῖν φασὶν αὐτὸν καὶ κατὰ τὰς² συμβουλὰς οὔτως εὐστοχεῖν, ὤστε τὸν βασιλέα χρώμενον ταῖς ἐκείνου παραγγελίαις μηδέποτε διαμαρτεῖν. τοιαύτη δ' ἀπολογία χρησάμενος ὁ Τιρίβαζος ἀπελύθη τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ὧμολογημένως ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν δικαστῶν.

11. 'Ο δὲ βασιλεὺς καθ' ἔνα τῶν δικαστῶν προσκαλούμενος ἐπηρώτησε, τίσι δικαίοις προσοχὼν ἔκαστος ἀπέλυσε τὸν κατηγορούμενον. ὁ μὲν οδν πρῶτος ἔφησε, θεωρῶν τὰ μὲν ἐγκλήματα ἀμφισβητούμενα, τὰς δ' εὐεργεσίας όμολογουμένας οὕσας ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἔφησε, καὶ τιθεμένων ἀληθινῶν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, ὅμως τὰς εὐεργεσίας μείζους εἰναι τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὁ δὲ τρίτος εἶπεν ὅτι τὰς μὲν εὐερ-

#### BOOK XV. 10. 2-11. 1

in defence that he had formed the friendship not 255 m.c. for any advantage of his own but for the profit of the King; and he pointed out that the Greeks of Asia were thereby detached from the Lacedaemonians and delivered captive to the King. At the conclusion of his defence he reminded the judges of the former

good services he had rendered the King.

It is related that Tiribazus pointed out many services to the King, and one very great one, as a result of which he was highly regarded and became a very great friend. Once during a hunt, while the King was riding in a chariot, two lions came at him, tore to pieces two of the four horses belonging to the chariot, and then charged upon the King himself; but at that very moment Tiribazus appeared, slew the lions, and rescued the King from the danger. In wars also, men say, he excelled in valour, and in council his judgement was so good that when the King followed his advice he never made a mistake. By means of such a defence Tiribazus was cleared of the charges by the unanimous vote of the judges.

11. The King summoned the judges one by one and asked each of them what principles of justice he had followed in clearing the accused. The first said that he observed the charges to be debatable, while the benefactions were not contested. The second said that, though it were granted that the charges were true, nevertheless the benefactions exceeded the offences. The third stated that he did not take

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Herodotus (8. 85) states that certain Persians who had especially distinguished themselves were recorded among "the king's benefactors," being called in Persian orosangae.

a rds added by Dindorf.

γεσίας οὐ τίθεται πρὸς λόγον διὰ τὸ τὰς περὶ αὐτῶν χάριτας καὶ τιμὰς πολλαπλασίας ἀπειληφέναι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν Τιρίβαζον, αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων κατ' ιδίαν θεωρουμένων μὴ φαίνεσθαι 2 τούτοις ἔνοχον εἶναι τὸν κατηγορούμενον. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοὺς μὲν δικαστὰς ἐπήνεσεν, ὡς δικαίως κεκρικότας, τὸν δὲ Τιρίβαζον ταῖς νομιζομέναις μεγίσταις τιμαῖς ἐκόσμησεν. τοῦ δὲ 'Ορόντου καταγνοὺς ὡς ψευδῆ κατηγορίαν πεπλακότος ἔκ τε τῶν φίλων ἐξέκρινε καὶ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἀτιμίαις περιέβαλεν.

Και τὰ μέν κατά την 'Ασίαν έν τούτοις ην.

12. Κατά δε την Ελλάδα Λακεδαιμονίων πορθούντων Μαντίνειαν, το μεν θέρος διετέλεσαν οί Μαντινεῖς γενναίως ἀγωνιζόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους εδόκουν γαρ ανδρεία διαφέρειν των 'Αρκάδων, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρότερον ελώθεισαν έν ταις μάχαις τούτους παραστάτας έχειν καὶ πιστοτάτους τῶν συμμάχων τοῦ δὲ γειμώνος ένστάντος και του παρά την Μαντίνειαν ποταμού μεγάλην αύξησιν έκ των δμβρων λαβόντος. οί Λακεδαιμόνιοι το ρεύμα του ποταμού διαλαβόντες μεγάλοις χώμασιν απέστρεψαν τον ποταμόν είς την πόλιν και πάντα τον σύνεγγυς τόπον εποί-2 ησαν λιμνάζειν. διο καὶ τῶν οἰκιῶν πιπτουσῶν καταπλαγέντες οἱ Μαντινεῖς ἡναγκάσθησαν τὴν πόλιν παραδούναι τοις Λακεδαιμονίοις. οι δέ παραλαβόντες άλλο μέν οὐθέν κακὸν εἰργάσαντο τούς Μαντινείς, προσέταξαν δε είς τὰς άρχαίας κώμας μετοικισθήναι. διόπερ ήναγκάσθησαν την μεν ίδιαν πατρίδα κατασκάπτειν, είς δε τὰς κώμας μετοικήσαι.

into account the benefactions, because Tiribazus had so i.e. received from the King in return for them favours and honours many times as great, but that when the charges were examined apart by themselves, the accused did not appear to be guilty of them. The King praised the judges for having rendered a just decision and bestowed upon Tiribazus the highest honours, such as were customary. Orontes, however, he condemned as one who had fabricated a false accusation, expelled him from his list of friends, and subjected him to the utmost marks of degradation.

Such was the state of affairs in Asia.

12. In Greece the Lacedaemonians continued the siege of Mantineia, and through the summer the Mantinejans maintained a gallant resistance against the enemy. For they were considered to surpass the other Areadians in valour, and it was for this reason that the Lacedaemonians had formerly made it their practice in battle to place them, as their most trustworthy allies, on their flank. But with the coming of winter the river which flows beside Mantineia received a great increase from the rains and the Lacedaemonians diverted the flow of the river with great dikes, turned the river into the city, and made a pool of all the region round about. Consequently, as the houses began to fall, the Mantineians in despair were compelled to surrender the city to the Lacedaemonians. After they received the surrender, they imposed no other hardship on the Mantineians than the command that they should move back to their former villages. Consequently they were compelled to raze their own city and return to their villages.

13. "Αμα δέ τούτοις πραττομένοις κατά την Σικελίαν Διονύσιος ο των Συρακοσίων τύραννος έγνω κατά τὸν 'Αδρίαν πόλεις οἰκίζειν. τοῦτο δὲ επραττε διανοούμενος τον Ιόνιον καλούμενον πόρον ίδιοποιείσθαι, ίνα τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν "Ηπειρον πλοῦν ασφαλή κατασκευάση και πόλεις έχη ίδίας είς το δύνασθαι ναυσί καθορμισθήναι. ἔσπευδε γάρ ἄφνω μενάλαις δυνάμεσιν επιπλεύσαι τοις κατά την "Ηπειρον τόποις καὶ συλησαι' τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς τέ-2 μενος, γέμον πολλών χρημάτων. διό καὶ πρός 'Ιλλυριούς εποιήσατο συμμαχίαν δι' 'Αλκέτου τοῦ Μολοττοῦ, ὅς ἐτύγχανε φυγάς ὢν καὶ διατρίβων ἐν ταις Συρακούσαις. των δ' Ίλλυριων έχόντων πόλεμον, εξαπέστειλεν αύτοις συμμάχους στρατιώτας δισγιλίους και πανοπλίας Έλληνικάς πεντακοσίας. οί δ' Ίλλυριοί τὰς μὲν πανοπλίας ἀνέδωκαν τοῖς άρίστοις τῶν στρατιωτῶν, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας 3 κατέμιξαν τοις ίδίοις στρατιώταις. πολλήν δέ δύναμιν άθροίσαντες ενέβαλον είς την "Ηπειρον καὶ κατήγον τὸν 'Αλκέταν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Μολοττῶν Βασιλείαν. οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτοῖς προσέχοντος, τὸ μέν πρώτον ἐπόρθησαν τὴν χώραν, μετά δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Μολοττών άντιταττομένων έγένετο μάχη καρτερά, καθ' ην νικήσαντες οἱ Ἰλλυριοὶ κατέκοψαν των Μολοττών πλείους των μυρίων πεντακισχιλίων. τοιαύτη δε συμφορά των 'Ηπειρωτών περιπεσόντων, Λακεδαιμόνιοι πυθόμενοι τὰ συμβεβηκότα συμμαχίαν εξέπεμψαν τοις Μολοττοις, δι' ής του πολλού θράσους έπαυσαν τούς βαρβάρους.

#### BOOK XV. 13. 1-8

13. While these events were taking place, in Sicily 285 n.a. Dionysius, the tyrant of the Syracusans, resolved to plant cities on the Adriatic Sea. His idea in doing this was to get control of the Ionian Sea, in order that he might make the route to Epeirus safe and have there his own cities which could give haven to ships. For it was his intent to descend unexpectedly with great armaments upon the regions about Epeirus and to sack the temple at Delphi, which was filled with great wealth. Consequently he made an alliance with the Illyrians with the help of Alcetas the Molossian, who was at the time an exile and spending his days in Syracuse. Since the Illyrians were at war, he dispatched to them an allied force of two thousand soldiers and five hundred suits of Greek armour. The Illyrians distributed the suits of armour among their choicest warriors and incorporated the soldiers among their own troops. Now that they had gathered a large army, they invaded Epeirus and would have restored Alcetas to the kingship over the Molossians. But when no one paid any attention to them, they first ravaged the country, and after that, when the Molossians drew up against them, there followed a sharp battle in which the Illyrians were victorious and slew more than fifteen thousand Molossians. After such a disaster befell the inhabitants of Epeirus, the Lacedaemonians, as soon as they had learned the facts, sent a force to give aid to the Molossians, by means of which they curbed the barbarians' great audacity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Greek reads "the Ionian passage-way, as it is called," since, being the lower part of the Adriatic Sea, it was the direct route between Greece and Italy.

So Stephanus: συλήσειν.
So Dindorf: κετήγεγον.
N 2
357

« Τμα δε τούτοις πραττομένοις Πάριοι κατά τινα χρησμον ἀποικίαν εκπέμμαντες εἰς τὸν 'Αδρίαν ἔκτισαν ἐν αὐτῷ νῆσον τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Φάρον, συμπράξαντος αὐτοῖς Διονυσίου τοῦ τυράννου. οὖτος γὰρ ἀποικίαν ἀπεσταλκὼς εἰς τὸν 'Αδρίαν οὖ πολλοῖς πρότερον ἔτεσιν ἐκτικὼς ἦν τὴν πόλιν τὴν δ ὀνομαζομένην Λίσσον. ἐκ ταύτης οὖν ὁρμώμενος Διονύσιος . . . σχολὴν ἄγων κατεσκεύασε νεώρια διακοσίαις τριήρεσι, καὶ τεῖχος περιέβαλε τῆ πόλει τηλικοῦτο τὸ μέγεθος, ὤστε τῆ πόλει γενέσθαι τὸν περίβολον μέγιστον τῶν 'Ελληνίδων πόλεων. κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ γυμνάσια μεγάλα παρὰ τὸν "Αναπον ποταμόν, θεῶν τε ναοὺς κατεσκεύασε καὶ τἄλλα τὰ συντείνοντα πρὸς αὕξησιν πόλεως καὶ

δόξαν.

14. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μὲν ῆρχε Διοτρέφης, ἐν 'Ρώμη δ' ὕπατοι κατεστάθησαν Λεύκιος Οὐαλέριος καὶ Αδλος Μάλλιος, παρὰ δ' Ἡλείοις 'Ολυμπιὰς ῆχθη ἐνενηκοστὴ ἐνάτη, καθ' ἡν ἐνίκα στάδιον Δίκων Συρακόσιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Πάριοι μὲν τὴν Φάρον οἰκίσαντες τούς τε' προενοικοῦντας βαρβάρους ἔν τινι χωρίω καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὀχυρῷ ὅντι εἴασαν κατοικεῖν ἀσινεῖς, αὐταὶ δὲ παρὰ θάλατταν κτίσαντες πόλιν 2 ἐτείχισαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν προοικούντων ἐν τῆ νήσω βαρβάρων δυσχεραινόντων ἐπὶ τῆ παρουσία τῶν 'Ελλήνων, καὶ μεταπεμπομένων τοὺς πέραν κατοικοῦντας 'Ιλλυριούς, μικροῖς πλοίοις πολλοῖς διέβησαν εἰς τὴν Φάρον, ὅντες ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους, καὶ τοὺς 'Ελληνας πορθοῦντες πολλούς ἀνήρουν. δ δ' ἐν τῆ Λίσσω καθεσταμένος ἔπαρχος ὑπὸ Διο-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> τε deleted by Vogel; Schäfer and Dindorf read μdv.

While these events were taking place, the Parians, see a.c. In accordance with an oracle, sent out a colony to the Adriatic, founding it on the island of Pharos, as it is called, with the co-operation of the tyrant Dionysius. He had already dispatched a colony to the Adriatic not many years previously and had founded the city known as Lissus. From this as his base Dionysius . . . Since he had the leisure, he built dockyards with a capacity for two hundred triremes and threw about the city a wall of such size that its circuit was the greatest possessed by any Greek city. He also constructed large gymnasia along the Anapus River, and likewise temples of the gods and whatever else would contribute to the growth and renown of the city.

14. At the conclusion of the year, in Athens 884 a.c. Diotrephes was archon and in Rome the consuls clected were Lucius Valerius and Aulus Mallius, and the Eleians celebrated the Ninety-ninth Olympiad, that in which Dicon of Syracuse won the "stadion." This year the Parians, who had settled Pharos, allowed the previous barbarian inhabitants to remain unharmed in an exceedingly well fortified place, while they themselves founded a city by the sea and built a wall about it. Later, however, the old barbarian inhabitants of the island took offence at the presence of the Greeks and called in the Illyrians of the opposite mainland. These, to the number of more than ten thousand, crossed over to Pharos in many small boats, wrought havoe, and slew many of the Greeks. But the governor of Lissus appointed

There is a lacuna here that must be of some length, since the following statements apply, not to Lissus, but to Syrucuse.
 This flowed into the Great Harbour of Syracuse.

νυσίου τριήρεις πλείους έχων ἐπέπλευσε τοῖς τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν πλοιαρίοις, καὶ τὰ μὲν βυθίσας, τὰ δὲ χειρωσάμενος, ἀπέκτεινε τῶν βαρβάρων πλείους τῶν πεντακισχιλίων, ἐζώγρησε δὲ περὶ διοχιλίους.

8 Διονύσιος δὰ χρημάτων ἀπορούμενος ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Τυρρηνίαν, ἔχων τριήρεις ἐξήκοντα, πρόφασιν μὰν φέρων τὴν τῶν ληστῶν κατάλυσιν, τῆ δ' ἀληθεία συλήσων ἱερὸν ἄγιον, γέμον μὰν ἀναθημάτων πολλῶν, καθιδρυμένον δ' ἐν ἐπινείω πόλεως 'Αγύλλης Τυρρηνίδος: τὸ δ' ἐπίνειον ώνομάζετο Πύργοι.

καταπλεύσας δὲ νυκτὸς καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐκβιβάσας, ἄμ' ἡμέρα προσπεσών ἐκράτησε τῆς ἐπιβολῆς. 
δλίγων γὰρ ὅντων ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ φυλάκων βιασάμενος αὐτοὺς ἐσύλησε τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ συνήθροισεν οὐκ ἔλαττον ταλάντων χιλίων. τῶν δὲ ᾿Αγυλλαίων ἐκβοηθησάντων, μάχῃ τε ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν καὶ πολλοὺς αἰχμαλώτους λαβὼν καὶ τὴν χώραν πορθήσας ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας. ἀποδόμενος δὲ τὰ λάφυρα συνήγαγεν οὐκ ἐλάττω ταλάντων πεντακοσίων. εὐπορήσας δὲ χρημάτων ἐμισθοῦτο στρατιωτῶν παντοδαπῶν πλῆθος, καὶ δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον συστησάμενος φανερὸς ἢν πολεμήσων Καρχηδονίοις.

Ταῦτα μέν οὖν ἐπράχθη κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνι-

αυτόν.

15. 'Επ' ἄρχοντος δ' 'Αθήνησι Φανοστράτου 'Ρωμαΐοι κατέστησαν ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων χιλιάρχους τέτταρας, Λεύκιον Λοκρήτιον, Σέντιον Σολπίκιον, Λεύκιον Αλμίλιον, Λεύκιον Φούριον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Διονύσιος ὁ τῶν Συρακοσίων τύραννος παρα360

by Dionysius sailed with a good number of triremes see no. against the light craft of the Illyrians, sinking some and capturing others, and slew more than five thousand of the barbarians, while taking some two thousand

sand captive.

Dionysius, in need of money, set out to make war against Tyrrhenia with sixty triremes. The excuse he offered was the suppression of the pirates, but in fact he was going to pillage a holy temple, richly provided with dedications, which was located in the seaport of the Tyrrhenian city of Agyllê, the name of the port being Pyrgi.1 Putting in by night, he disembarked his men, attacked at daybreak, and achieved his design; for he overpowered the small number of guards in the place, plundered the temple, and amassed no less than a thousand talents. When the men of Agyllê came out to bring help, he overpowered them in battle, took many prisoners, laid waste their territory, and then returned to Syracuse. From the booty which he sold he took in no less than five hundred talents. Now that Dionysius was well supplied with money, he hired a multitude of soldiers from every land, and after bringing together a very considerable army, was obviously preparing for a war against the Carthaginians.

These, then, were the events of this year.

15. When Phanostratus was archon in Athens, the see a.c. Romans elected instead of consuls four military tribunes, Lucius Lucretius, Sentius Sulpicius, Lucius Acmilius, and Lucius Furius. This year Dionysius, the tyrant of the Syracusans, after preparations for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Some fifteen miles up the coast from Ostia. The temple was that of Eilelthyia, the goddess of child-birth (Strabo, 5. 2. 8).

σκευασάμενος πολεμεῖν Καρχηδονίοις, εξήτει λαβεῖν πρόφασιν εὕλογον τοῦ πολέμου. όρῶν οὖν τὰς ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίους τεταγμένας πόλεις οἰκείως ἐχούσας πρὸς ἀπόστασιν, προσεδέχετο τὰς βουλομένας ἀφίστασθαι, καὶ συμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὰς συντιθέμενος ἐπιεικῶς προσεφέρετο ταύταις. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πρέσβεις ἀποστέλλοντες πρὸς τὸν δυνάστην ἀπήτουν τὰς πόλεις, μὴ προσέχοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ συνέβη ταύτην ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι τοῦ πολέμου.

Καρχηδόνιοι μέν ουν πρός τους Ίταλιώτας συμμαχίαν ποιησάμενοι κοινή τὸν πόλεμον ἐπανείλαντο πρός τον τύραννον προορώμενοι δ' εμφρόνως τό μέγεθος τοῦ πολέμου, τῶν τε πολιτῶν τοὺς εὐθέτους κατέλεγον στρατιώτας και χρημάτων προχειρισάμενοι πλήθος ξενικάς δυνάμεις μεγάλας εμισθούντο. καταστήσαντες δε στρατηγόν Μάγωνα τον βασιλέα, πολλάς μυριάδας στρατιωτών επεραίωσαν είς την Σικελίαν και την Ιταλίαν, διαπολεμείν εξ άμφο-3 τέρας βουλόμενοι. ὁ δὲ Διονύσιος καὶ αὐτός τὰς δυνάμεις διελόμενος, τῷ μέν ἐνὶ μέρει πρὸς τοὺς Ιταλιώτας διηγωνίζετο, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ πρὸς τούς Φοίνικας. πολλαί μέν οδυ κατά μέρος εγίνοντο μάχαι τοις στρατοπέδοις και συμπλοκαί μικραί καί συνεχείς, εν αίς οὐδεν άξιολογον έργον συνετελέσθη, δύο δὲ παρατάξεις ἐγένοντο μεγάλαι καὶ περιβόητοι. καὶ τῆ μὲν πρώτη Διονύσιος θαυμαστώς άγωνισάμενος περί τὰ καλούμενα Κάβαλα προετέρησε, καὶ πλείους μεν τῶν μυρίων ἀνείλε

<sup>2</sup> ow added by Dindorf.
<sup>2</sup> 'Irahwiras Wesseling, Dindorf: жаронгаз.

war upon the Carthaginians, looked about to find a see no. reasonable excuse for the conflict. Seeing, then, that the cities subject to the Carthaginians were favourable to a revolt, he received such as wished to do so, formed an alliance with them, and treated them with fairness. The Carthaginians at first dispatched ambassadors to the ruler and asked for the return of their cities, and when he paid no attention to them, this

came to be the beginning of the war.

Now the Carthaginians formed an alliance with the Italian Greeks and together with them went to war against the tyrant; and since they wisely recognized in advance that it would be a great war, they enrolled as soldiers the capable youth from their own citizens. and then, raising a great sum of money, hired large forces of mercenary troops. As general they chose their king 1 Magon and moved many tens of thousands of soldiers across to Sicily and Italy, planning to wage war on both fronts. Dionysius for his part also divided his forces, on the one front fighting the Italian Greeks and on the other the Phoenicians. Now there were many battles here and there between groups of soldiers and minor and continuous engagements, in which nothing of consequence was achieved. But there were two important and famous pitched battles. In the first, near Cabala," as it is called, Dionysius, who put up an admirable fight, was victorious, slaying more than ten thousand of the bar-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Magon was obviously one of the two annually elected suffetes, who corresponded roughly to the Roman consuls. Diodorus must have known that the Carthaginians had no "kings"; but probably avoided for his readers the use of the unfamiliar term.

<sup>8</sup> The location is unknown.

<sup>\*</sup> if added by Wesseling.

τῶν βαρβάρων, οὐκ ἐλάττους δὲ τῶν πεντακισχιλίων εζώγρησε τὸ δ' ἄλλο πλήθος ἠνάγκασε καταφυγεῖν ἐπί τινα λόφον ἐρυμνὸν καὶ ἄνυδρον παντελῶς. ἔπεσε δὲ καὶ Μάγων ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν ἐ ἀγωνισάμενος λαμπρῶς. οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες καταπλαγέντες τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συμφορᾶς εὐθὺς διεπρεσβεύσαντο περὶ διαλύσεων. ὁ δὲ Διονύσιος ἀπεφήνατο μίαν αὐτοῖς εἶναι σύλλυσιν, ἐὰν ἐκχωρήσωσι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν πόλεων καὶ τὰ δαπανηθέντα

χρήματα κατά τον πόλεμον εκτίσωσιν.

16. Βαρείας δε και υπερηφάνου της αποκρίσεως δοκούσης υπάρχειν, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῆ συνήθει πανουργία κατεστρατήγησαν τον Διονύσιον. προσποιηθέντες ούν εὐδοκεῖαθαι ταῖς όμολογίαις, ἔφησαν αὐτούς μεν μη ὑπάρχειν κυρίους της τῶν πόλεων παραδόσεως, ίνα δε τοις άρχουσι διαλεχθώσι περί τούτων, ήξίωσαν τον Διονύσιον ολίγας ήμέρας 2 ανοχάς ποιήσασθαι. συγχωρήσαντος δε τοῦ δυνάστου καὶ τῶν ἀνοχῶν γενομένων, ὁ μὲν Διονύσιος περιχαρής ήν, ώς αὐτίκα μάλα την Σικελίαν πᾶσαν παραληψόμενος, οι δε Καρχηδόνιοι Μάγωνα μεν τον βασιλέα μεγαλοπρεπώς έθαψαν, άντι δ' έκείνου στρατηγόν κατέστησαν τον υίον αὐτοῦ, νέον μέν παντελώς όντα, φρονήματος δε γέμοντα και διάφορον ανδρεία. ούτος δε πάντα τον των ανοχών γρόνον διετέλεσε διατάσσων και γυμνάζων την δύναμιν, δια δε της των εργων αθλήσεως και της τῶν λόγων παρακλήσεως καὶ γυμνασίας ἐν τοῖς οπλοις εὐπειθή και δυνατήν ἐποίησε τὴν στρατιάν. 3 ώς δ' δ της όμολογίας διηλθε χρόνος, αμφότεροι τας δυνάμεις εκτάξαντες συγκατέβησαν προθύμως έπὶ την μάχην. γενομένης δὲ παρατάξεως ἰσχυράς 364

barians and capturing not less than five thousand. Stage. He also forced the rest of the army to take refuge on a hill which was fortified but altogether without water. There fell also Magon their king after a splendid combat. The Phoenicians, dismayed at the magnitude of the disaster, at once sent an embassy to discuss terms of peace. But Dionysius declared that his only terms were conditional upon their retiring from the cities of Sicily and paying the cost of the war.

16. This reply was considered by the Carthaginians to be harsh and arrogant and they outgeneralled Dionysius with their accustomed knavery. They pretended that they were satisfied with the terms, but stated that it was not in their power to hand over the cities; and in order that they might discuss the question with their government, they asked Dionysius to agree to a truce of a few days. When the monarch agreed and the truce took effect. Dionysius was overjoyed, supposing that he would forthwith take over the whole of Sicily. The Carthaginians meanwhile gave their king Magon a magnificent funeral and replaced him as general with his son, who, though he was young indeed, was full of ambition and distinguished for his courage. He spent the entire period of the truce drilling and exercising his troops, and what with laborious exercise, hortatory speeches, and training in arms, he rendered the army obedient and competent. At the expiration of the period agreed upon both sides deployed their forces and entered the battle with high spirit. There followed

So the MSS.; εὐδοκεῖν οτ εὐδοκεῖσαι Vogel.
δὲ γάμοντα Vogel: δ' εἰγκερῶς ὅντα.

περί το καλούμενον Κρόνιον, το δαιμόνιον εναλλάξ τῆ νίκη τὴν ήτταν τῶν Καρχηδονίων διωρθώσατο οἱ μεν γὰρ προνενικηκότες διὰ τὴν προγεγενημένην εὐημερίαν μεγαλαυχούντες παραδόξως ἐσφάλησαν, οἱ δὲ διὰ τὴν ήτταν πεπτωκότες ταις ἐλπίσιν ἀπροσδόκητον καὶ μεγάλην εὐημερίαν ἀπηνέγκαντο.

απροσδόκητον καί μεγάλην εὐημερίαν απηνέγκαντο. 17. Λεπτίνης μεν γάρ επί θατέρου κέρως τεταγμένος και διαφέρων ανδρεία, μαχόμενος ήρωικως καί πολλούς άνελων των Καρχηδονίων επιφανώς κατέστρεψε τον βίον τούτου δέ πεσόντος οί Φοίνικες θαρρήσαντες και βιασάμενοι τους άντιτεταγ-2 μένους ετρέψαντο. Διονύσιος δε το μεν πρώτον έγων επιλέκτους τους συντεταγμένους προετέρει των αντιτεταγμένων ώς δ' ό του Λεπτίνου θάνατος έγνώσθη και το έτερον κέρας συνετέτριπτο, κατεπλάγησαν οί τοῦ Διονυσίου καὶ πρὸς φυγήν ώρμη-8 σαν. τροπής δε παντελούς γενομένης, οι μέν Καρχηδόνιοι φιλοτιμότερον καταδιώξαντες παρήγγελλον άλληλοις μηδένα ζωγρείν διο και πάντων των περικαταλαμβανομένων αναιρουμένων πας δ 4 πλησίον τόπος νεκρών επληρώθη. τοσούτος δ' έγένετο φόνος, μνησικακούντων των Φοινίκων, ώστε τους αναιρεθέντας εύρεθήναι των Σικελιωτών πλείους των μυρίων και τετρακισχιλίων. οι δέ περιλειφθέντες καταφυγόντες είς την παρεμβολήν της νυκτός επιγενομένης διεσώθησαν. οί δε Καρχηδόνιοι μεγάλη παρατάξει νικήσαντες άνεχώρησαν είς Πάνορμον.

'Ανθρωπίνως δε την εθημερίαν ενεγκόντες απέστειλαν πρεσβευτάς, δόντες εξουσίαν τῷ Διονυσίῳ

<sup>1</sup> So Relake, συνετέτρεπτο P, συνετέτραπτο col.
2 άναιρεθέντας εύρεθήναι Wesseling 1 εύρεθέντας άναιρεθήναι.

a sharp pitched battle at Cronium, as it is called, and is not the deity redressed by victory turn for turn the defeat of the Carthaginians. The former victors, who were loudly boasting because of their military success, were unexpectedly tripped up, and they who, because of their defeat, were crestfallen at the outlook, won

an unexpected and important victory.

17. Leptines, who was stationed on one wing and excelled in courage, ended his life in a blaze of glory, fighting heroically and after slaying many Carthaginians. At his fall the Phoenicians were emboldened and pressed so hard upon their opponents that they put them to flight. Dionysius, whose troops were a select band, at first had the advantage over his opponents; but when the death of Leptines became known and the other wing was crushed, his men were dismayed and took to flight. When the rout became general, the Carthaginians pursued the more eagerly and called out to one another to take no one captive : and so all who were caught were put to death and the whole region close at hand was heaped with dead. So great was the slaughter, as the Phoenicians recalled past injuries, that the slain among the Sicilian Greeks were found to number more than fourteen thousand. The survivors, who found safety in the camp, were preserved by the coming of night. After their great victory in a pitched battle the Carthaginians retired to Panormus.1

The Carthaginians, bearing their victory as men should, dispatched ambassadors to Dionysius and

<sup>1</sup> Modern Palermo.

καταλύσασθαι τον πόλεμον. ἀσμένως δὲ τοῦ τυράννου προσδεξαμένου τους λόγους ἐγένοντο διαλύσεις, ὥστ' ἔχειν ἀμφοτέρους ὧν πρότερον ὑπῆρχον 
κύριοι ἐξαίρετον δ' ἄλαβον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τὴν 
τῶν Σελινουντίων πόλιν τε καὶ χώραν καὶ τῆς 
'Ακραγαντίνης μέχρι τοῦ 'Αλύκου καλουμένου ποταμοῦ. ἔτισε δὲ Διονύσιος τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις 
τάλαντα χίλια.

Καὶ τὰ μέν κατά Σικελίαν ἐν τούτοις ἢν.

18. Κατά δε την 'Ασίαν Γλώς ό ναυαρχήσας τών Περσών εν τῷ Κυπριακῷ πολέμω, ἀποστάτης ῶν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τούς το Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τὸν Αίγυπτίων βασιλέα παρακεκληκώς είς τον πρός Πέρσας πόλεμον, δολοφονηθείς ύπό τινων ού συνετέλεσε την προαίρεσιν. μετά δε την τούτου τελευτήν Ταχώς διαδεξάμενος τὰς τούτου πράξεις συνεστήσατο περί αύτον δύναμιν, και πόλιν εκτισε πλησίον της θαλάσσης επί τινος κρημνού την όνομαζομένην Λεύκην, έχουσαν ίερον άγιον 'Απόλλωνος. 2 μετ' ολίγου δε χρόνου αυτού τελευτήσαυτος ήμφισβήτησαν της πόλεως ταύτης Κλαζομένιοι καί Κυμαΐοι. το μεν ούν πρώτον επεχείρησαν αί πόλεις πολέμω διακρίνεσθαι, μετά δε ταθτα εἰπόντος τινός ερωτήσαι του θεόν, ποτέραν των πόλεων κρίνει κυρίαν είναι δείν της Λεύκης, εκρινέν ή ΙΙυθία ταύτην ὑπάρχειν, ήτις αν πρώτη θύση ἐν τῆ Λεύκη όρμηθηναι δε έκ της ίδίας πόλεως αμ ήλίω ανιόντι κατά την ημέραν, ην αμφότεροι συμ-8 φώνως υποστήσουται. ταχθείσης δε της ημέρας, οί μεν Κυμαΐοι υπελάμβανον έαυτους πλεονεκτείν διά το την αύτων πόλιν έγγυτέρω κείσθαι, οί δέ 1 πλεονεκτείν Vogel, πολεμείν PA, προλέγειν cst.

gave him the opportunity to end the war. The tyrant set and gladly accepted the proposals, and peace was declared on the terms that both parties should hold what they previously possessed, the only exception being that the Carthaginians received both the city of the Selinuntians and its territory and that of Acragas as far as the river called Halycus. And Dionysius paid the Carthaginians one thousand talents.

This was the state of affairs in Sicily.

18. In Asia Glös, the Persian admiral in the Cyprian War, who had deserted from the King and had called upon both the Lacedaemonians and the king of the Egyptians to make war upon the Persians,1 was assassinated by certain persons and so did not achieve his purpose. After his death Tachos took over his operations. He gathered a force about him and founded on a crag near the sea a city which bears the name of Leucê and contains a sacred shrine of Apollo. A short time after his death a dispute over this city arose between the inhabitants of Clazomenae and those of Cymae. Now at first the cities undertook to settle the matter by recourse to war, but later someone suggested that the god be asked which one of the two cities should be master of Leuce. The Pythia decided that it should be the one which should first offer sacrifice in Leuce, and that each side should start from his own city at the rising of the sun on a day upon which both should agree. When the day was set, the Cymacans assumed that they would have the advantage because their city lay the nearer, but the Clazomenians, though

Κλαζομένιοι, διάστημα πλέον ἀπέχοντες, τεχνάξονταί τι τοιούτο πρὸς τὴν νίκην κληρώσαντες ἐξ ἐαυτῶν ἀποίκους ἔκτισαν πλησίον τῆς Λεύκης πόλιν, ἐξ ῆς ὁρμηθέντες ἄμ' ἡλίω ἀνατέλλοντι ἔφθασαν τοὺς Κυμαίους τὴν θυσίαν ἐπιτελέσαντες. ἐ τούτω δὲ τῷ φιλοτεχνήματι γενόμενοι κύριοι τῆς Λεύκης, ἐπώνυμον ἐορτὴν ἄγειν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν ἐνεστήσαντο, τὴν πανήγυριν δνομάσαντες προφθάσειαν. τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων αὶ μὲν κατὰ τὴν 'Ασίαν ἐπαναστάσεις αὐτομάτως κατελύθησαν.

19. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δε μετά τον του Γλώ και του Ταχώ θάνατον τὰς μέν κατὰ τὴν 'Ασίαν πράξεις απέγνωσαν, τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ελλάδα συσκευαζόμενοι, και των πόλεων ας μεν πειθοί προσαγόμενοι, ας δε δια της των φυγάδων καθόδου βία χειρούμενοι, φανερώς ήδη την ήγεμονίαν της Ελλάδος είς έαυτούς μεθίστασαν παρά τὰς κοινάς συνθήκας τάς ἐπ' 'Ανταλκίδου γενομένας συνεπιλαβομένου 2 του Περσών βασιλέως. κατά δὲ τὴν Μακεδονίαν 'Αμύντου τοῦ βασιλέως ήττηθέντος ὑπὸ 'Ιλλυριῶν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπογνόντος, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τῷ δήμω τῶν 'Ολυνθίων δωρησαμένου πολλήν της ομόρου χώρας δια την απόγνωσιν της εαυτοῦ δυναστείας, το μεν πρώτον ο δήμος ο τών 'Ολυνθίων τὰς προσόδους ελάμβανε τὰς ἐκ τῆς δοθείσης χώρας, μετά δὲ ταῦτ' ἀνελπίστως τοῦ βασιλέως άναλαβόντος ξαυτόν καὶ την όλην άρχην άνακτησαμένου οι μεν 'Ολύνθιοι την χώραν απαιτηθέντες 3 ούχ οίοι ήσαν αποδιδόναι. διόπερ 'Αμύντας ίδιαν τε δύναμιν συνεστήσατο καὶ τούς Λακεδαιμονίους ποιησάμενος συμμάχους έπεισεν έξαποστείλαι στραthey were a greater distance away, devised the \*\*\* we following scheme to get the victory. Choosing by lot colonists from their own citizens, they founded near Leuce a city from which they made their start at the rising of the sun and thus forestalled the Cymaeans in performing the sacrifice. Having become masters of Leuce by this scheme, they decided to hold an annual festival to bear its name which they called the Prophthascia.¹ After these events the rebellions in Asia came of themselves to an end.

19. After the death of Glös and Tachos the Lacedaemonians renounced their undertakings in Asia, but they went on organizing affairs in Greece for their own interest, winning over some of the cities by persussion and getting others into their hands by force through the return of the exiles. From this point they began openly to bring into their own hands the supremacy of Greece, contrary to the common agreements adopted in the time of Antalcidas after intervention by the King of the Persians. In Macedonia Amyntas the king had been defeated by the Illyrians and had relinquished his authority; he had furthermore made a grant to the people of the Olynthians of a large part of the borderland because of his abandonment of political power. At first the people of the Olynthians enjoyed the revenues from the land given them, and when later the king unexpectedly recovered strength and got back his entire kingdom, the Olynthians were not inclined to return the land when he asked for it. Consequently Amyntas gathered an army from his own people, and forming an alliance with the Lacedaemonians persuaded them

<sup>1</sup> The Anticipation.

<sup>4</sup> So Unger: σκενασώμενοι.

τηγόν και δύναμιν αξιόλογον έπι τους 'Ολυνθίους. οί δε Λακεδαιμόνιοι κρίναντες αντέχεσθαι των επί Θράκης τόπων, κατέλεξαν στρατιώτας έκ τε τῶν πολιτών και παρά των συμμάχων τούς απαντας ύπερ μυρίους παραδόντες δε την δύναμιν Φοιβίδα τῶ Σπαρτιάτη προσέταξαν συμμαχείν τῷ 'Λμύντα και μετ' εκείνου πολεμήσαι τους 'Ολυνθίους. έτέραν δε δύναμιν επί Φλιουντίους εκπεμέραντες και μάχη νικήσαντες ηνάγκασαν υποταγήναι τους

Φλιουντίους τοις Λακεδαιμονίοις.

4 Κατά δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων διεφέροντο πρός άλλήλους ταις αίρεσεσιν 'Αγησίπολις μεν γάρ, είρηνικός ών καὶ δίκαιος, έτι δέ και συνέσει διαφέρων, έφη δείν εμμένειν τοις ορκοις και παρά τὰς κοινὰς συνθήκας μή καταδουλούσθαι τούς Ελληνας άδοξείν γάρ άπεφήνατο την Σπάρτην τοις μεν Πέρσαις εκδότους πεποιημένην τους κατά την 'Ασίαν "Ελληνας. αὐτην δὲ συσκευαζομένην τὰς κατά την Ελλάδα πόλεις, έν ταις κοιναις συνθήκαις ομόσασαν τηρήσειν αὐτονόμους. δ δ' Αγησίλαος, ών φύσει δραστικός, φιλοπόλεμος ήν και της των Ελλήνων δυναστείας άντείχετο.

<sup>1</sup> μή καταδουλουσθαι after συνθήκαις deleted by Wesseling. <sup>1</sup> So Scaliger, Reiske: ωμοσαν.

#### BOOK XV. 19, 3-4

to send out a general and a strong force against the 885 a.c. Olynthians. The Lacedaemonians, having decided to extend their control to the regions about Thrace, enrolled soldiers both from their citizens and from their allies, more than ten thousand in all; the army they turned over to Phoebidas the Spartan with orders to join forces with Amyntas and to make war together with him upon the Olynthians. They also sent out another army against the people of Phlius, defeated them in battle, and compelled them to accept the rule of the Lacedaemonians.

At this time the kings of the Lacedaemonians were at variance with each other on matters of policy. Agesipolis, who was a peaceful and just man and, furthermore, excelled in wisdom, declared that they should abide by their oaths and not enslave the Greeks contrary to the common agreements. He pointed out that Sparta was in ill repute for having surrendered the Greeks of Asia to the Persians and for organizing the cities of Greece in her own interst, although she had sworn in the common agreement that she would preserve their autonomy. But Agesilaüs, who was by nature a man of action, was fond of war and yearned for dominance over the Greeks.



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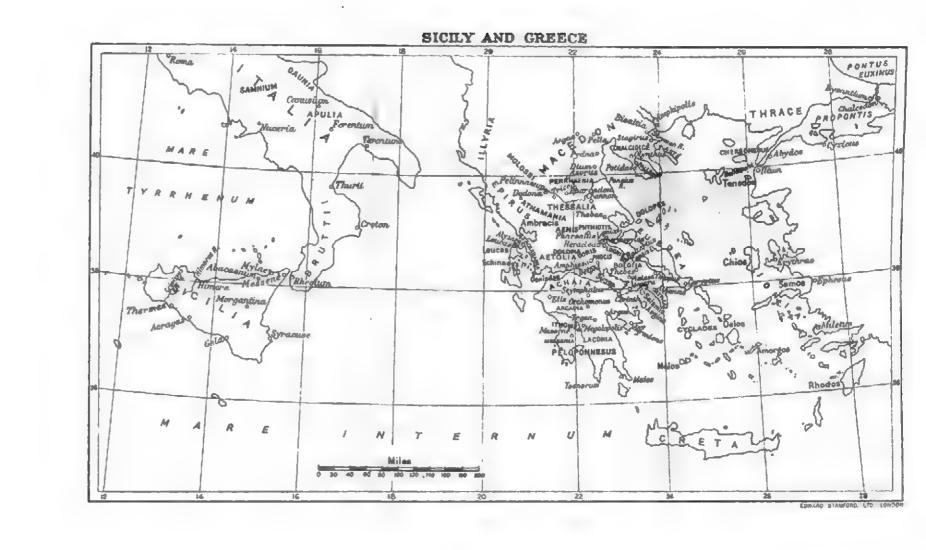
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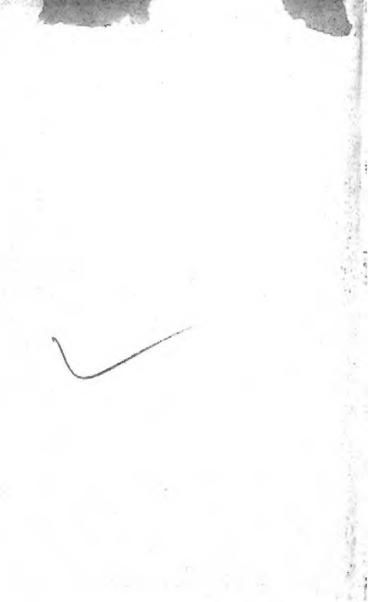
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